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1855.

M. MINUCII FELICIS

OCTAVIUS

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Quid O participes rationis audetis homines proloqui, quid effutire, quid promere temerariæ vocis desperatione tentatis? Deum principem, rerum cunctarum quæcunque sunt dominum, summitatem omnium summorum obtinentem, adorare, obsequio venerabili invocare, in rebus fessis totis ut ita dixerim sensibus amplexari, amare, suspicere, execrabilis religio est et infausta, impietatis et sacrilegii plena, cœrimonias antiquitus institutas novitatis suæ suspicione contaminans?—ARNOBIUS *adversus Nationes*, Liber I. cap. XXV.

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M. MINUCII FELICIS

OCTAVIUS

THE TEXT NEWLY REVISED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.
WITH AN ENGLISH COMMENTARY ANALYSIS
INTRODUCTION AND INDICES

Edited for the Syndics of the University Press

BY THE

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EDITOR OF ARISTOPHANES

Ὅπλα λαμβάνεις κατὰ ἀντικειμένης ἐνεργείας,
ὅπλα λαμβάνεις κατὰ ἐθνῶν. Πολλοὺς ἐχθροὺς
ἔχεις, πολλὰ βέλη λάμβανε.
Cyril. Præfat. Catech.

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PREFACE.

AMONG the writings of the early Apologists of Christianity, it may be doubted whether (excepting the eight books of Origen against Celsus) there be any which has much stronger claims to our notice, it is certain that none has gained more admirers, than the Dialogue of Minucius Felix, which is known by the name of *Octavius*.

Considering the universal testimony which has been borne to the peculiar elegance, if not classical purity, of its style, it is only surprising that so valuable a treatise should have hitherto failed to find a place, as a Class-book, in our Schools and Universities, by the side of or as a substitute for some Pagan writer, of inferior claims[1].

[1] The remarks of CELLARIUS in the Introduction to his Edition of this Dialogue, (A.D. 1726), where he is speaking *de usu antiquitatis Ecclesiasticæ Christianis scholis commendandæ*, will, I trust, be considered pertinent.

"Quapropter ita sentio, atque sic animum induco, non bene consuli Christianorum scholis, si ecclesiastici veteres scriptores, iique puri ac elegantes, in iis omnes prætereantur: nec illarum fructus magnos esse experimur, ex quibus omnes sæculares sive ethnici exterminantur; sed utriusque generis auctores conjungendos esse censeo, ut ex Romanis priscis vera indoles Latinitatis, ex Christianis, ejusdem usus melior perspiciatur; quippe sancti quoque viri, quamquam quæ sæculi sunt, contemserunt, sermonis tamen copiam et stili nitorem nequaquam neglexere, ut non tantum ad civiles res suas, sed ipsas etiam sacras, nec sine fructu eximio usi fuerint."

And again:

"Non puto multos esse qui con-

It is more easy, perhaps, to account for the neglect, of which we speak, from the want of a suitable and convenient edition, than it is for the existence of such a desideratum. Now that the attention of English students is becoming more and more drawn to these primitive records of Christian Theology, and an increasing interest is manifested in them, the fulfilment of such a requirement will probably be more acceptable than it would have been some years ago. I think, we may safely conclude that, regarded as a mere literary composition, the pure Latinity of the *Octavius*, reminding us perhaps, more than any other Ecclesiastical writing, of the golden days of Latin Prose, will serve to make any attempt at illustrating it welcome to the classical Scholar, while its attractive form will secure for it the attention of the general reader. But the Theological Student will see that it possesses still further and higher claims to his attention: for besides these acknowledged merits, it has the advantage of containing an admirably clear and condensed Summary of the arguments for and against Christianity, which were current in

tra nos negatum eant, e re scholarum fore et Christianorum, si amotis impudicis libris, et amorum fabulis illecebrosis, sæculares auctores optimi retineantur, iisque ex ecclesia jungantur qui purioris sermonis amantes, elegantia non minus rem litterariam, quam profani possint adjuvare. Ut quæ sentio planius exponam, cum Cicerone velim LACTANTIUM illius imitatorem componi, aut si hic uberior quam pro

the beginning of the third Century: and therefore it serves as an excellent introduction to the study of the writings of the other Apologists both Greek and Latin.

But, taking for granted the superior value of this dialogue, additional testimony to which, if needed, might easily be adduced, I proceed to offer a few remarks on the plan which has been pursued by me in the present edition.

It is unfortunate that there is only one known MS. of Minucius extant. This is now in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, where, by the kind permission and assistance of M. Hase, Keeper of the MSS., I made a careful examination of it; a task rendered necessary by the variance existing between the collations hitherto made. Further observations on this MS. are reserved for the Introduction. I have now only to say that in my text I have adhered as closely as was possible to it, except in the matter of orthography. In the few passages which seemed to bid defiance to all construing, I have substituted such conjectural emendations, as appeared most probable; in others, to

captu adolescentiæ videatur, Minucium Felicem, nihil Lactantio nitore stili concedentem, argumento parem, brevitate multum complexa juventuti gratiorem, quæ brevia sectetur, ne longitudine et copia ætati nondum confirmatæ aliquod tædium suboriatur."

Ernesti, in his Preface to Lindner's edition, writes in a similar strain.

which some meaning, though doubtful, could be attached, I have contented myself with mentioning various readings and critical suggestions in the notes, my desire being to avoid as much as possible tampering with the text of my author, which, I believe, is not so corrupt as previous Editors assume it to be. For, as [2]Schönemann justly observes, '*tot emendatores nactus est Octavius, quam editores.*'

The Commentary is intended to explain the text; but, as this Edition is designed for the use of younger as well as more advanced students, I have not omitted to explain the most obvious allusions, historical, mythological or others, besides elucidating the construction where difficult, and occasionally remarking upon verbal or phraseological peculiarities.

But my main object has been to give assistance to the reader by copious illustration from authors of the nearest age, or of the same country and profession, from the Greek Apologists, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Theophilus, Athenagoras, Origen, as well as from the Latin writers Cyprian, Arnobius, Augustine, and Lactantius; more especially from Tertullian, whose Apologetic treatise is in itself a commentary upon our dialogue.

[2] *Bibliotheca Historico-Literaria Patrum Latinorum*, Vol. I. p. 63.

Mere references to the most ordinary authors are too often neglected by students: and perhaps more so in the case of writers not easily accessible. I have taken care therefore to give the more important citations in full.

To conclude with one more remark concerning the notes. There is preserved in the Library of the British Museum a copy of the *Variorum* Edition by Ouzelius, published in 1672, with marginal and other observations by James Gronovius. Many of these are mere rough sketches of notes, subsequently expanded in his own edition. The most important of them are noted down in the present edition, enclosed between brackets, and distinguished by the letters J. GR.

I do not wish to conceal, therefore acknowledge once for all, whatever obligations I owe to the labours of preceding Editors and Commentators, whose quotations, I may be allowed to state, I have not appropriated without a faithful verification of them.

Further aids to the student are given in the *Dissertation* of the celebrated Jurist Baudouin on the Age of Minucius, whose authorship of this Dialogue he was the first to discover, as will be seen hereafter; in the *Analysis Logica* drawn up by Lindner and prefixed to his scarce and valuable

edition; in my own marginal Analysis, and in the copious Indices which will be found occasionally to supply the deficiencies and correct the oversights that occur in the foot-notes.

Concerning the Treatise of Cyprian *de Vanitate Idolorum*, which, being for the most part an abridged transcript of the *Octavius*, forms a proper Appendix to it, little is known either of the persons to whom it was addressed or of the occasion which called it forth. The text, which I have given, is that of Routh with very few alterations. The marginal numbers refer to the corresponding chapters in Minucius.

H. A. H.

Trinity College,
1852, *November* 18.

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INTRODUCTION.

ERRATA.

In the Text.

Page 68, line 4, *place semicolon after* sacerdotum.
..... 138, ... 3, *for* Romani populi; *read* reipublicæ.

In the Notes.

..... 95, *note* 9, *col.* b, *for* εἰσαγει; *read* εἰσάγει.
..... 132, *note* 13, *for* 'etiam nihil mirum;' *read* 'etiam: nihil mirum.'
..... 146, *note* 16, *for* Statius, *Silv.* III.; *read* Statius, *Silv.* IV. iii. v. 120.
..... 165, *note* 7, *col.* b, *for* οἵταν μακαρία μὴν; *read* ὅταν μακαρία μὲν.
..... 185, *note* 10, *for* 'was forbad;' *read* 'was forbidden.'

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

Life of Minucius.

THE notices which we have of this Apologist of the Latin Church are extremely meagre and imperfect. His age, country, parentage are alike matters of speculation. His full name was MARCUS MINUCIUS FELIX. The Prænomen MARCUS occurs in the Dialogue, Ch. III. § 1; Ch. V. § 1. The *Gens Minucia* was widely spread at Rome: and had different cognomens, as *Augurinus, Rufus, Thermus, Faustus, Macer, Fundanus,* amongst these *Felix,* as appears from an ancient inscription[1]. Many members of the house attained to high distinction. Of our Minucius, we cannot say whether he belonged to it or not: all that we know for certain is that he was a distinguished jurist and advocate at Rome, and rose to celebrity through his eloquence[2]. A

See Balduin. Dissert. § iii p. 5.

[1] Ap. Gruter. *Inscript.* p. 918. It may be remarked that the name in old authors and in former editions of the *Octavius* was misspelt *Minutius.* The word is not connected with *minutus:* as is proved by the quantity of the middle syllable in Silius Italicus,

Nec mora; disjecto *Minuci* vecordia vallo
Perdendi simul et pereundi ardebat amore.
Bell. Pun. vii. 523.

[2] Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* v. 1, and Hieronymus, quoted by Balduinus, *Dissertat.* p. 3: who remarks (ch. v.) that Arnobius may have been thinking of Minucius, when he spoke of the conversion of so many distinguished members of the Roman Bar to Christianity. Comp. the testimony of Tertullian, *Apolog.* ch. xxxvii. and ch. xlii.

Eucherius *epist. ad Valerian* speaks of him as *clarissimum facundia.* Tom. v. *Bibl. PP.* p. 771: *Et quando clarissimos facundia, Firmianum, Minutium, Cyprianum,*

heathen by birth, he did not embrace Christianity till he had arrived at mature age. That he continued to practice at the bar after his conversion may be reasonably inferred from a passage in the second Chapter of the Dialogue, where he is speaking of his enjoyment of the *feriæ judiciariæ:* although Tzschirner[3] appeals to this very passage in proof of the contrary.

Ch. i. §§ 3, 4; ch. v. § 1; ch. xxviii. § 1.

With regard to the place of his birth, some[4] suppose it to have been Africa. This supposition they argue is favoured by the similarity which is to be observed between his style and that of Tertullian and Cyprian, both of whom were Africans; and by the fact that several stories and sayings, which occur in the dialogue, are to be found in Apuleius. But this argument can hardly be pressed; for although there can be little doubt, as will be seen hereafter, that Minucius has copied from Tertullian to a great extent, still we do not find in him as we should have expected on this supposition, any of the inflated and exaggerated diction, which is the particular characteristic of the African style: but on the contrary a marked imitation of the best classical authors; whose language he has copied just as much, as he has adapted the sentiments and reasoning of Tertullian.

Nor does it appear that any inference can be drawn from the circumstance that Cæcilius, in speaking of Fronto, calls him *noster:* for the meaning of this is indeterminate; it may be either "my (i.e. Cæcilius') countryman," (see Ch. xxxii. 1, below Sect. ii. p. xxvii), or "the contemporary of both of us." Van Hoven[5], on the other

Ch. ix. § 8.

Hilarium, Joannem, Ambrosium ex illo volumine numerositatis evolvam? Dixerant credo: quid hoc est? surgunt indocti et cœlum rapiunt: et nos cum doctrinis ecce tibi in errore volutamur et sanguine. Dixerant istud: et idcirco postea vim intulerunt ipsi regno.

[3] *Geschichte der Apologetik:* Part i. p. 276, Leipzig. 1805. See on the other hand, Le Nourry, *Appar. Crit.* Cap. i. Art. ii.

[4] Tillemont *Mémoires,* Tome iii. p. 71; Basnage, and Rigaut, *ad l.*

hand, maintains that he was born in Italy, and probably at Brescia; concluding upon the strength of the circumstance that Pliny, speaking of a certain Minucius Acilianus, says, *patria est ei Brixia,* that this was the native place of the family.

SECTION II.

Of the Age in which Minucius lived.

This appears a point capable of being determined with a tolerable degree of certainty, considering the few and imperfect data, which enable us to arrive at any result whatever. It seems to me an obvious inference from these, that Minucius must have composed his dialogue after the *Apologeticus* of Tertullian was published, and before the treatise of Cyprian *de Idolorum Vanitate.* Nevertheless, inasmuch as considerable variety of opinion has prevailed upon the question, it may be not an uninteresting enquiry to investigate the grounds, which lead to this conclusion.

To appeal to the testimony of Jerome as the oldest; in a passage[6], where we observe that his object is to mention the three writers in their chronological order, he places Minucius between Tertullian and Cyprian; but in another passage[7], where he has a different object in view, he puts Minucius after Cyprian, the distinguished Bishop and Martyr. Eucherius[8] also assigns the middle place to Minucius.

who is followed by Dupin: Balduinus, *Diss.* § 3, p. 5 and Tzschirner *l. l.* speak doubtfully.

[5] *Joannis Danielis ab* Hoven *epistola historico-critica de vera ætate etc. Minucii* ad Gerhardum Meermann, § 14, in Lindner's second edition, p. 300.

[6] *Catalog. Scriptor. eccles. Lat.* Vide Balduin. *Dissert.* § 1

[7] *Apologia pro libris adv. Jovinianum ad Pammach.* Tom. 1. *Epist.* 50. cap. 4

[8] *Ubi supra* note 2.

Again, it may be assumed as more than probable from the strikingly close correspondence which exists between the *Octavius* and the *Apologeticus*, that one of these must have been copied from the other. Now an acquaintance with the works of TERTULLIAN must, I am convinced, be enough to forbid any dispassionate reader from ever imagining that the most original and characteristic writer of the Latin Church, should have borrowed at all, much less in such a manner, from the writings of another. For, be it observed, the resemblance is not confined to a single phrase, or an accidental illustration, but is so close and literal that whole paragraphs have been in some parts transfused into one from the other[9]. See for one instance out of several Ch. xviii. and Ch. xxii. with the illustrations from TERTULLIAN there given in the notes.

MINUCIUS, on the contrary, is far from an original writer: the most superficial reader will observe that he has borrowed more or less in several passages from other authors, such as Cicero and Seneca: in fact his dialogue is as evidently an artistic and laboured composition, dressed up in an elegant and attractive form, and written by one who was well-acquainted with the best classical Authors; as TERTULLIAN'S Apology, on the other hand, is the production of an original mind, called for by the exigency of the times and stamped with a peculiar character of its own[10].

No further proof than this, I think, will be required to shew that the evidence afforded by the two compositions is in favour of the supposition of MINUCIUS[11] being posterior in time to TERTULLIAN. The same argument

[9] Tzschirner, *l. l.* p. 277, *note*, 92.

[10] Tzschirner, *l. l.* p. 279.

[11] I cannot understand on what grounds Russwurm, in the Introduction to his *German Translation* of the *Octavius*, p. xix. ventures to assert that the correspondence is

may be applied against the notion of their having both drawn from the same sources, viz. the Greek Apologists, and especially Justin Martyr[12].

Again, we may take it for granted that MINUCIUS was prior to CYPRIAN, since his treatise *de Idolorum Vanitate* is admitted on all sides to be a close transcript of the *Octavius*.

Now TERTULLIAN wrote his *Apologeticus* probably in the year A. D. 198, and CYPRIAN died of martyrdom A. D. 258 in the Valerian Persecution: it follows therefore from our conclusions, that our Author must have composed his Dialogue at some period intermediate between these two extremes. The date of its composition may be fixed still more precisely. Several indications afforded by the Dialogue itself go to prove, that the Christians must, at the time of its composition, have been living in enjoyment of comparative freedom from persecution. We find them living on terms of intimacy with the Heathen, and addressing each other in the language of familiar intercourse. Men of high rank and distinction were numbered amongst them, and a Christian could venture to rally a Pagan for his superstitious belief. Moreover Minucius must have been himself living in comparative security, that he was able to devote himself to the composition of this Dialogue. It was only during the following periods that the Christians found themselves in so favourable a position: viz., under ANTONIUS CARACALLA, A. D. 211—217, who, at least, manifested his good will towards them so far as to allow the Governors of Provinces to deal with them as they pleased: under ALEXANDER SEVERUS, (A. D. 222—235,)

Ch. iii. 1; iv. 3; xv. 3; xvi. 2, 3, 6.

natural because the subjects on which they wrote and the objections they had to answer were the same.

[12] Comp. Henrici Meieri, *Commentatio de Minucio Felice.* Zurich, 1824, p. 10, sq. C. F. Rössler, *Bibliothek. der Kirchenväter,* Vol. III. p. 2, foll.

who as a religious eclectic partially recognised Christianity: or under PHILIPPUS ARABS (244—249), who was so lenient to the Christians, that he was even reputed to be one himself. The remaining Emperors of this period were vehement opponents and bloody persecutors of their religion. Now there is extant an old tradition of Minucius having flourished in the reign of Alexander Severus, which is supported and confirmed by independent considerations[13].

The Antiquary Marcus Antonius Coccius, ordinarily called Sabellicus[14], who lived in 1500, asserts, yet without citing any historical evidence for the truth of his assertion, that MINUCIUS flourished at the time when Urban was Bishop of Rome. Now the time of Urban's bishopric exactly coincides with the first years of the reign of ALEXANDER SEVERUS, viz. 223—230[15]. This statement agrees with that of the German Historian John Von Trittenheim[16], (usually known under the name Trithemius,) in his treatise *de Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus,* which may be viewed as a continuation of the celebrated work of Jerome, that MINUCIUS flourished in Rome about the year 230 in the time of Alexander Severus.

The reasons which impart to this statement an appearance of truth are as follows:—

1 The allusion to the recovery of the Roman standards from the Parthians, mentioned in Ch. VII. § 6, *ut Parthos signa repetamus,* is introduced in such a way as to lead us to suppose, that it was an event which had

[13] Lübkert, *Einleitung,* p. 4.

[14] *Ennead.* VII. Lib. 6: *Claruit sub Urbano Triphon, quem Origenes docuit: Minucius Felix auctor causarum insignis, cujus Lactantius meminit. Dialogum Scripsit de Christiana et Ethnica religione. Scripsit et contra mathematicos. Fuit his æqualis Alexander Hierosolymorum antistes.*

[15] Eusebius, *H. E.* II. 25; VI. 20.

[16] J. A. FABRICII *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica; "Minucius Felix, Causidicus, patria Romanus, vir in secularibus literis eruditissimus et in divinis lectionibus studiosus, ingenio ex-*

recently taken place. Now we know from Suetonius[17] that Augustus had succeeded in obtaining a triumph over this nation and recovering the Roman standards; but still the Romans may not have looked upon them as completely subjugated. It is then possible that the allusion in the text may be to the campaign of the Emperor Alexander Severus in Parthia. At any rate the explanation of this passage, though perhaps it be too uncertain to support any independent conclusion, agrees very well with this assumption.

2 The immediate occasion of the dialogue was an act of homage paid by the Heathen Cæcilius to a statue of Serapis at Ostia (Ch. II. 5). Now it is recorded of Alexander Severus that in his fondness for religious syncretism, he procured for himself initiation into the mysteries[18], and beautified the temple of this deity at Rome[19]: and it is not unlikely that the ardour of Cæcilius was stirred up to this act of devotion to a deity, whose worship was just then becoming fashionable.

3 We read in Ch. XXIX. § 6, of the Dialogue: *et est eis tutius per Jovis genium pejerare quam Cæsaris.* The custom of swearing by the Emperor, *adjurandi Genium Principis,* came into vogue after the death of Julius Cæsar, when the Senate passed a vote τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ὀμνύναι. See the commentators on Apuleius *Metamorphoses,* L. IX. C. 11[20]; and compare Tertullian *Apolog.* XXIX. and Ulpian *leg.* XIII. Digest. *de jurejurando.* But Alexander Severus had issued a decree in respect to

cellens, et disertus eloquio, scripsit Latino sermone quædam præclara opuscula, quibus memoriam sui posteris commendavit. E quibus extat dialogus inter Christianum et hæreticum, qui Octavius inscribitur. Claruit Romæ sub Alexandro Imperatore, Anno Domini 230."

[17] AUGUST. *Vit.* c. XXI; TIBER. *Vit.* c. VIII.

[18] *Spartian. Vita A. Severi,* c. XVII.

[19] Lampridius, *vita Alexandri Severi,* c. XXVI.

[20] p. 807, *ed. Hildebrand.*

this: concerning which Baudouin says: *suspicor hic notari quandam constitutionem Alexandri Severi, quæ tamen relata est in libros juris, leg.* II., *Cod. de rebus creditis.* The law is in lib. IV. of the Codex, and reads thus: *Jurisjurandi contempta religio satis Deum ultorem habet. Periculum autem corporis vel Majestatis crimen secundum constituta Divorum parentum meorum, etsi per Principis venerationem quodam calore fuerit pejeratum, inferri non placet.*

This treble coincidence of occurrences in the life of Alexander Severus, with allusions in the *Octavius,* form a strong ground for supposing that Minucius Felix was a younger contemporary of Tertullian, and fixing as the date of the Dialogue the year 226. Perhaps a further confirmation may be sought in Ch. XII. and Ch. XXXVII., which justify us in inferring that there had been recently a persecution of the Christians, which had given occasion to instances of heroism in martyrdom. This was probably the persecution under Septimius Severus, the recollection of which would, no doubt, be still fresh in men's minds.

Nevertheless, others arrive at an entirely different conclusion, and would have us believe that TERTULLIAN copied from MINUCIUS, whose age they assign to the time of the Emperor ANTONINUS PIUS, between 138 and 161, so as to make him a contemporary of Justin Martyr and Athenagoras. Among the advocates of this theory there are several, whose opinion would certainly carry weight[21], were not the arguments by which they attempt

[21] Tillemont, *Mémoires,* Tom. III. p. 295; Baronius, *Annal.* 211, § 3; Dodwell, *Dissert. Cyprianicæ* III. § xvi; Blondell, *de l'Eucharistie,* p. 119; Daillé; J. D. ab Hoven, *Epistola Historico-Literaria* (appended to Lindner's second edition); Oelrich's, *de Scriptt. Ecclesiæ Latinæ priorr. Sæcul.* p. 24. Tzschirner, *Fall. des Heidenthum* I. p. 219, places him in the age of Marcus Aurelius, although in his former work, the *Geschichte der Apologetik,* he adheres to the commonly-received opinion.

to support it so manifestly weak and inconclusive. But, as they are introduced with great parade and show of learning, it may be worth while to pass them one by one in review.

1 "The classical purity of his style shows that the latest period when he could have lived was under the Antonines[22]." To say nothing of the fact that only 60 years intervened between Antoninus Pius and Alexander Severus, surely his elegance of style can be no sufficient ground upon which to build a conclusion as to the age of a writer: otherwise we might contend that Lactantius or Augustine lived in the silver age[23].

2 "From the apparent conformity between the three writers Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Minucius, not only in the arguments they employ to refute objections, but also in points of doctrine, it follows that they must have lived about the same time[24]." The answer to this is that the similarity between these same writers and Tertullian is much more striking, with this only difference, that Tertullian, in employing these same arguments, has handled them in a much more original manner than our author.

3 "The picture drawn by Minucius of the circumstances of the primitive Christians, when he describes them as, *latebrosa et lucifugax natio, et de ultima fœce profanæ conjurationis plebs*, harmonises with the description of them by Justin Martyr and Athenagoras: whereas Tertullian says of the Christians: *Jam omnia impleverant, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa,*

Ch. viii. 4, 5.

Apolog. ch. xxxvii.

The same view has been adopted by Kestner, *Agape*, p. 356, H. Meier, *Commentatio de Minucio Felice*, Turici, 1824, Russwurm, in the Introduction to his translation, and Muralto in his edition of the Dialogue.

[22] Van Hoven, *l. l.* § 1, p. 263. Comp. Tzschirner, *Gesch. der Apol.* p. 280.

[23] Lumper, *Historia Theologico-Critica SS. Patrum.* Vol. vii. p. 108.

[24] Van Hoven, *l. l.* p. 264; Meier *Comm.* p. 6.

Apolog. ch. i. *ad Nation.* I. i. *tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum etc.:* and, *Hinc Romani obsessam vociferantur civitatem: omnem sexum, ætatem, conditionem etiam dignitatem transgredi ad hoc nomen quasi detrimento mœrent;* in which passages we have the description of the Christians as they were in a later age. It follows therefore that Minucius must have written at an earlier period[25]. The mistake here is, that the reproach put into the mouth of the heathen Cæcilius against the Christians, is considered as conveying a true description of what they really were. Cæcilius' object clearly is to repeat all the calumnies which the Christians had been assailed with from the earliest times, whether applicable to his own period or not, and to bring forward everything he could in order to place them in an odious light[26]. But the untruth of the objection is hinted at in a few words by Octavius: who says further in Ch. XXXI. § 8; *in dies nostri numerus augetur.* Even the objector himself, when it suits his purpose, exclaims with indignation: *per universum orbem sacraria ista teterrimæ superstitionis adolescunt.* Besides, Tacitus, at a still earlier period, had already spoken of them as being *multitudo ingens;* and the account given by Pliny, his contemporary, corresponds precisely with that of Tertullian. The only difference between the external condition of the Christians in the times when Tertullian and Minucius wrote would be, that the former witnessed them in a season of great peril and trial, the latter in one of security and freedom from persecution, such as we know they enjoyed through the good will of Alexander Severus.

Ch. ix. § 1.

Ann. XV. 44.

Epist. X. 97, § 9.

4 "Mention is made of *Fronto* of Cirta, as a contemporary of the speakers in the Dialogue: it is probable that the person alluded to is *M. Julius Fronto,* who

[25] Van Hoven, *ibid.*

[26] Tzschirner, *Gesch. der Apol.* p. 280.

[27] Van Hoven, p. 287, *note:* Tzschirner, *Fall des Heidenthum,* p. 221, *note.*

was *consul suffectus* in 143; consequently in the reign of Antoninus Pius[27]." It is more probable that the person referred to is M. Cornelius Fronto, the tutor of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius[28]. But whichever of these is meant, it is quite a *petitio principii*, to found an argument on the use of *noster*, which may mean equally well "my countryman" (whether dead or alive) as "my contemporary:" but more probably here signifies, "one of our party," namely, a heathen, as is shewn by a subsequent passage (Ch. XXXI. 1), where Octavius, in his answer to Cæcilius, speaks of *Fronto tuus*.

5 "The Christians are described by Minucius Felix as illiterate and uneducated; whereas in the time of Origen they appear in quite a different light."

But this again does not appear from the Dialogue: on the contrary, Cæcilius' remark (V. 4, VIII. 4), which of course is made in a spirit of ill-nature, is contradicted by Octavius in Ch. XXXI. 7. Besides the case of Minucius himself, and Octavius, who were both persons of consequence and education and yet Christians, is enough to prove the futility of this conclusion.

6 "All the objections, which are advanced by Cæcilius against the Christians, are directed against their mode of life and external conduct, not against their doctrines or principles: but the case was different in the time of Tertullian and Origen."

But this again is a futile objection: for surely it is the doctrines of Christianity which Cæcilius assails, when he speaks contemptuously of their belief in one GOD, His general attributes, and providence, their hope of immortality and the resurrection of the body, and their belief in a future retribution. And Octavius limits his defence to these; he does not enter into a regular vin-

[28] See note 15, ch. ix. and comp. Balduini *Dissert.* § 3, p. 5; and especially Bayle, *Dictionn.* Article *Fronto, note* F.

dication of the whole system of Christianity, it being no part of the plan of this Dialogue that he should do so. In fact, it is merely occupied in clearing away any antecedent objection to the *consideration* of Christianity[29]. Hence we see why total silence is maintained by him concerning the Books of Holy Scripture.

The above are the chief grounds, weak as they are, usually alleged in support of the theory, which places the age of Minucius at an earlier period than the reign of Alexander Severus. Others, however, place him still later, and posterior to Cyprian[30].

SECTION III.

Literary History of the Octavius.

Minucius Felix, after the fashion of Cicero, whose writings, and especially the Treatise *de Natura Deorum*, he took for his model, names his Dialogue after one of the speakers in it *Octavius*. The form of the Dialogue resembles those of Cicero, who, instead of the short questions and answers which Plato puts into the mouths of his disputants, makes them utter separate speeches and uninterrupted discourses. On this subject the unpublished fragmentary remarks[31] of Gronovius may not be considered out of place:—

Ut et ipse aliquod principium mediter, antequam ad ipsum melos peragendum aggrediar; ita versatur in hoc scripto noster Minucius Felix, ut liquide ostendat non se statim postquam ab Ostia cum tertio comite domum rediit,

[29] Woodham, *Introduction to Tertullian's Apology*, p. xliv.

[30] Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, Vol. II. *Appendix*, c. 8, p. 418.

[31] These remarks evidently form the commencement of the Introduction, which Gronovius had promised in the Preface to his Edition, where he speaks of the *consilium, quo decreveram rimari et ostendere, quod*

ad scribendum contulisse. An proximi mox dies fuerint, quos impendit huic memoriæ digerendæ, sicuti non dixerim, ita undecunque etiam hæc mora venerit, ad dialogum hunc instruendum aggressus est demum, postquam intellexit fato concessisse Octavium. Tamdiu sive animo seriem eorum quæ dicta erant ruminans, sive chartæ committens capita materiarum ea sibi retinuit, Octavio et suis et aliorum mortalium oculis subducto, voluptatem pristinam, commemorando amicitiæ usu et religioso paternitatis consortio, honorandam sibi existimans desidere ultra nequivit, et quod quantocunque tempore secum recensuerat, in literas redigens absolvit ac publicavit justissime, utpote quo partim pietatem suam probaret simul ac veteris amici nomen officiumque ac religionis acrem et efficacem custodiam, partim quoque, si ita res ferret, alios ex inumbrante caligine ad eandem spem ac fidem traduceret. Inerat tamen Minucio peculiaris stimulus, ut per tribunalia jam celebratus eloquentiæ etiam titulo, uteretur hâc occasione ad prodendos fontes unde incrementa facultatis suæ forensis duxerit. Non enim suo tempore satis tutum erat deducere adolescentem ad quemcunque in foro validum oratorem, quem observaret cujusque facundiam conaretur æmulari. Istud splendidum tempus præterierat nec aliud restabat, quam ut probæ eloquentiæ conspectum ex libris melioris ævi bene lectis peterent. Hoc fecerat quoque Minucius, et cui potissimum se applicuerit, judicavit opportunitatem indicandi nunc exstare honestissimam, idque nunc perfecisse accuratissime existimo. Itaque quum hic dialogus sit quasi laudatio excellentis hujus Octavii, imaginor mihi crebrius injectam illi fuisse de ea deliberationem, qua forma componi deberet aut cujus antiqui et probatissimi scriptoris exemplo opportuniore uteretur.

genus scripti veteris tunc præcipue in mente habuerit Minucius, adeo ut sequutus fuisse in plurimis videatur, aut quas magis exiguas partes aliunde petere voluerit, satis manifesta imitationis claritudine. Schönemann in reference to this promise observes: *Utinam vero perfecisset, quod tum seposuisse tantum videri vult.* Biblioth. Pattr. I. p. 66.

Id vero erat, quod tanto magis investigandum opinabar, quo minus de hac parte soliciti fuerunt priores, unde contigit eos hic illic hærere. Nobis autem ad id proficiet, ut quum imaginem totius operis ad vetustius scriptum directam conspicati fuerimus, etiam credamus illum, qui sic id accommodavit, facere nequivisse quin legenti et proponenti istud exemplum adhæserint nonnunquam et verba et locutiones in eodem usurpatæ. Quantum igitur circumspiciens adsequor, ex omni turba librorum, quos ad integram facundiæ juridicæ copiam obtinendam necessarios antea sibi potuit circumspexisse, judicavit hic insignis, ut olim describebatur, causidicus vel primas dari oportere M. Tullio Ciceroni, universæ perfectionis quam causidicina requirere potest, progenitori. Qui quum nihil scripserit legi indignum, tum causidico nostro præsertim videntur placuisse libri tres de Oratore. *Horum lectioni quum assiduus etiam ante inhæsisset eo potentiæ videtur devenisse, ut et passim ad illos multa concinnaret, quæ usui quotidiano et tribunalibus servirent, et cummaxime in causa veritatis cœlestis ut ille in ratione facundiæ, si non æmulari et ad imitationem principis causidicorum adspirare, certe fabricam ejus sibi perspectam cognitamque ita ostendere, ut aliquid simile, etsi maximo intervallo, fingere et concinnare posset. Quisquis attenderis, hanc conjectæ in dialogum sermocinationis de cultu divino et cujus plurima pars est, defensionis Christianæ per Octavium agnosces fuisse occasionem et originem. Quid dico? Immo hæc prima fila fuisse, unde hæc pulcherrima tela contexta est, manifeste deprehendes. Quod ut e vestigio sine ulla vel nebulæ obscuritate unicuique pateat vel ipsum modo initium spectetur. Prorsus enim sic inchoat illos libros* de Oratore *maximus Tullius:* Cogitanti mihi sæpenumero et memoria vetera repetenti perbeati fuisse illi videri solent etc. *In quibus jam statim prima duo verba Minucium grate ad sua transferentem penitus animadvertimus, neque id tantum, sed*

sicut illam ipsam cogitationem aut explicatione clariore aut specie peculiari indicata ad eandem faciem deprehendimus amplificari, perinde factum est in hujus dialogi exordio, et quidem in utroque ad eandem sententiam de rebus anteactis ut imago exempli, quod ex auctore suo ad unam aliquam notitiam traduxit concinne noster Minucius constet apertissime. Sed quam festinus Minucii abitus ab Cicerone, ut vix vestigium vel orbita hujus imitationis in posterioribus exstaret. Nam quanta statim differentia utriusque in affectu. In Cicerone nihil nisi ut inde opinio conciperetur; sed in Minucio aliquid inde gratum contingit animo et hic motu valido afficitur. Et Tullius quidem ipse hujus ista vetera vel suæ cogitationis causas et materias latius deducit libro III. *cap.* 4: Mihi quidem, Quinte frater, et eorum casus, de quibus ante dixi, et ea, quæ nosmet ipsi ob amorem in rempublicam incredibilem et singularem pertulimus ac sensimus, cogitanti sententia sæpe tua vera ac sapiens videri solet etc. *Nisi quod quum et illic cogitatio versatur circa homines sive plures et tandem quoque transeat ad unum, ut propius ad propositum suum legebat verba jam ex libro primo citata noster auctor, quem simili ratione fovebat de paucioribus et quidem uno proximis loquens apud Ciceronem Brutus in libro cognomine cap.* 76, *ubi ad mentionem Torquati et Triarii commotus Brutus inquit:* Næ ego, inquam, de istis duobus cum cogito, doleo etc. *Merito Felix noster quæ ad causam suam minus pertinebant, mutat, et quæ de pluribus memorantur apud Ciceronem, contulit ad unum; sed etiam ita se cogitare ostendit, ut memoria repetat aliquid jam effectum et præteritum, et porro quidem tale, unde jure perbeatos quosdam censere et appellare oporteat, quod quidem per Minuciana solidius colligitur, pari modo antiit Cicero. Unde jam primum patet hoc* cogitare *non esse* μεριμνᾶν, *ut quidem et semper alias et illo tempore poterat de religionis causa intelligi, sed* ἐνθυμεῖν, ἐννοεῖν, *ut ipse Minucius voluit etiam mox*

innuere, quum hæc ipsa explanans iterat: Itaque quum per universam convictus nostri et familiaritatis ætatem mea cogitatio volveretur. *Ex quibus etiam non dubito quin colligi oporteat studia Minucii Felicis ex illis, quæ optima existimari debent, colorem duxisse.*

Ad hunc igitur modum firmata solide, ut reor, ista basi liquide etiam apparebit fabrica statuæ per Minucium in ea figuratæ. Hinc nimirum est, quod etiam non domi causa peragitur, sed veniendum fuit in ambulationem, etsi non in Tusculano eloquentissimi Crassi et sedibus ac pulvinis sub platano duo triave spatia fiant: utique primum velut in quadam publica xysto viæ Ostiensis, deinde in dromo quasi Achilleo juxta litus aliquot passibus factis in saxis (*oportunum satis e re præsenti quilibet agnoscit*) *considendum fuit. Hinc extra urbem cœlo et pelago teste haberi debuit hæc cognitio, eique occasionem pandere comminiscitur* ferias ad vindemiam, *videlicet quia apud Ciceronem in id quod dixi suburbanum illi secesserant propter scenicos ludos, sive illos deorum festo datos, sive honorarios, quorum super triginta dies novimus ex Suetonio ab Augusto accommodatos fuisse rerum actui. Et quum sic pateat, unde arcessita sit opportunitas et prima constitutio vestibuli ad materiam patefaciendi; mirum hinc non est, si identidem in ipsa rerum explicatione occurrant etiam loca Ciceronis manifeste ab Minucio tacta et expressa. Quid? quum sic agit Tullius, ut de eloquentia Crassi nequiverit Cotta loqui, nisi per hanc translationem libro* 1mo *istius operis cap.* 35? Tanquam si in aliquam domum locupletem et refertam venerim non explicata veste, neque proposito argento, neque tabulis et signis propalam collocatis, ut his omnibus multis magnificisque rebus constructis et reconditis: *nonne hinc putavit consultissime amplificari affirmationem divinæ providentiæ Minucius noster, ut eadem communis moris traductione utens et domum quoque spectans etsi aliter comparatum scriberet?*

Quod si ingressus aliquam domum, omnia exculta, disposita, ornata, vidisses etc. *Insuper quum diceret Crassus libro* I. *cap.* 37. Qui hanc personam susceperit, ut amicorum controversias causasque tueatur, laborantibus succurrat, ægris medeatur, afflictos excitet: *nonne hæc verba animo scriptoris nostri objecerunt hanc adumbrationem, quam legimus, tum omnia eadem continentem, tum deducendo sermoni nonnulla vicina apprehensa interserentem?* Pleni et mixti Deo vates... dant cautelam periculis, morbis medelam, spem afflictis, opem miseris, solatium calamitatibus, laboribus levamentum. *Quid quum interloquitur auctor noster et ipse judex quæstionis post alteram partem auditam per hæc verba:* Tamen altius moveor, non de præsenti actione, sed de toto genere disputandi; *nonne jussu quodam acri compressus inhæsit Tullianæ periodo libri* III. *cap.* 6? Sed priusquam illa conor attingere, quibus orationem ornari atque illuminari putem, proponam breviter quod sentiam de universo genere dicendi[32].

Sic per varia hujus consessus membra noster Minucius fati sui ignarus, excitaverat tamen veluti pharos quasdam satis lucentes, ad quas in hac nocte, quam barbara vetustas ei densissimam et prorsus illiteratam circumdedit, ut nec de ratione studiorum ejus nec de subsidiis ad hunc Octavium comparatis quidquam aut ab antiquis sit ad nos proditum, nec ante nos viri mox eruditi perspicere tentaverint, gubernare cursum legendi posteritas posset. Quod quum eatenus sit nunc demonstratum, non existimo fieri posse ut quisquam hic figenda putet vestigia, et lucem sic clarescentem non censeat proferri aut posse aut debere etiam ad ipsa interdum verba, quorum lumen agnoscit, si per editores licuisset. Immo vero proferenda ista inventionis hujus commoditas, quum fieri nequeat, quin defensor optimæ fidei

[32] Sed præsertim meretur considerari principium sermonis, quo utitur Octavius cap. xvi.

ingurgitatus assiduo liquore Tulliani fluminis, ut inde tam conspicuos rivos hauserit, etiam penum bene instructam in mente gesserit ipsarum vocum, quas ex eadem copia manantes libens adhibuerit ad contextum hujus opusculi suaviter et jucunde irrigandum placitissima Latinæ loquelæ lenitate, et dum sententiam verbis illigat, ita memor fuerit ejus quod in Tullio legerat, ut sponte se suggesserit. Quid moramur? id probatum jam spectatumque præbuerunt vel ista, Numen præstantissimæ mentis, *vel alia hic illic nunc annotata.*

In hoc igitur spectaculo operas edunt Cæcilius et Octavius. Cæcilius perennis et perpes, quantum scimus, in familiaritate et convictu ipsius Minucii, et sicut nunquam urbe Roma egressus, ita literarum vetustarum studiis callens, adeo ut eruditionem ejus agnoscat etiam Octavius cap. XVI. § 2, *alioquin etiam satis in ipsa dissertatione eminentem, qua fere peragit cyclum priscæ eruditionis. Alter Octavius, advena et peregrinus, ut absit ab ista tam celebrata urbanitate, cujus sortis fere specimen dixeris, quod capite* XXVI. *dixit provinciali nempe confusione* Clodius *scilicet* et Flaminius, *qui ab Cæcilio indicatus fuit sub nomine* Claudii, *quam differentiam et ejus causam non fuit adsequutus Meursius; quum illo etiamnum tempore Claudios appellari in urbe videamus, non Clodios: et rusticitatem hanc probet ille in prædiis Cosanis educatur Vespasianus, ut adsuesceret* plostra *dicere. Utque magis cognoscas eum talem esse, facit sermo ejus in principio ambulationis editus, quem cap.* III. *testatur Minucius fuisse narrationem de navigatione. Unde non modo discimus peregrinum fuisse, sed etiam transmarinum, ut navigatione uti debuerit iturus Romam: et ut vara vibiam, hinc videtur esse quod capite* XVII. *intermiscet* Aspice Oceanum, refluit reciprocis æstibus, *id nempe proferens ut Oceani gnarus per vicinam habitationem. Itaque sive ex Africa sive ex Hispania peti debet, certe circa oras exteriores*

vixisse merito colligitur, ut hinc Oceani gnarus sit, de quo nihil opus erat dicere, nec dixerat aliquid de eo Cæcilius; at Octavius de isto divinæ potentiæ miraculo tacere non potuit. Ceterum de Africa probabilius credas, quam de Hispania, quoniam certe nomen Octavium vel Octaviæ stirpis pars ab aliquo tempore migravit in Africam, ut tempore Ciceronis potuerit Romæ notus esse Octavius ille Libyis oriundus de quo testatur ita MACROBIUS *Lib.* VII. Saturn. *cap.* 3, *ex quorum prosapia hunc quoque duxisse originem nihil, credo, vetat.*

Ceterum in diversitate κατασκευῆς *quam singuli utuntur ad suæ causæ sustentationem, admirabilis est Minucius, et sapientissime ipsum cogitavisse probat. Nam ille gentilis, quum non in fortuna magis sibi quam in natura placeret subito transiliens ad castra majorum, ita superfundit nimbo numinum, ut fere nihil loci videatur relinquere velificandi et detorquendi aliorsum, nec sollicitus de origine et modo proveniendi hoc agit ut recensendo et nominando et per gentes ac regiones et urbes digerendo probet existere, appellari, et quasi in machinis eos monstret; scit quibus appellentur vocabulis per diversas gentes: interdum et ab illis res geri et* παρουσίαν *modo beneficiis interdum plectendo probare, etiam minando tantum, sed in primis patent exempla Romana. Non id agit ut adversarius veniat in eandem persuasionem et similem sibi fidem induat: nequaquam, sed ita audacter illi ista ingerit urgens per nomina per miracula per pœnas, ut, nisi contra armatus foret, succumbere cogeretur. At Octavius illa omnia sic excipit ut hanc divinitatis præstantiam doceat non aliunde pendere, nisi ex fide, credulitatem majorum accusans.*

* * * * * *

It is remarkable that for centuries no one knew of any extant work of Minucius, but his Dialogue passed for the eighth book of Arnobius *adversus Nationes*, in spite of the great difference in style, being found in

the MS. together with the seven books of that work, and the title *Octavius* being mistaken for *octavus* sc. liber. It was reserved to the learned civilian Francis Baudouin to restore it to its true author: upon what external evidence, may be seen in his dissertation which is reprinted in this volume.

I have already remarked in the Preface that there is only one known MS. of Minucius: this was originally preserved in the Vatican Library, where it was collated by Sabæus. Thence it passed into the Royal Library at Paris, being presented by Pope Leo the Tenth to Francis the First[33]. It is the same MS. in which is preserved the work of Arnobius: its date is probably the 9th century[34]. The MS. at Brussels is merely a transcript of this[35]. Several collations have been made of it by Sabæus, Rigaut, and later by Muralto, and Hildebrand in an Appendix to his edition of Arnobius[36].

A short account of the several editions which have been published of the *Octavius*, may not be without its use.

In the *Sixteenth* Century there appeared:—

1542. Editio Princeps.

The *Editio Princeps*, or *Romana*, which was edited by Faustus Sabæus (*Sabeo*), from the MS. then in the Library of the Vatican, of which he was Curator. It was published as the Eighth Book of Arnobius, in folio.

1546. Sigismundi Gelenii.

This was followed by the edition of Sigismundus Gelenius, of Prague, published at Bâle, 1546, and again 1560, in 8vo. The mistake of the first editor is repeated in this. With several happy conjectures it contains many arbitrary alterations of the text.

1560. Francisci Balduini.

In the same year appeared the edition of Franciscus Balduinus (*Francis Baudouin*), at Heidelberg, 12mo: remarkable for having been the first edition of the *Octa-*

[33] Fabricius, *Delectus Argumentorium etc.* p. 216.

[34] Muralto, *Præfat.* p. v.

[35] G. F. Hildebrand, *Præfat.* ad *Arnobium*, p. i.

[36] G. F. Hildebrand, *ibid.*

vius with its real author's name. It contains the text only without notes, but preceded by an able dissertation establishing the authorship of the Dialogue beyond dispute. It was republished at Paris in 1589, and there again, as well as at Frankfurt, in 1690, in 8vo.

About twenty years subsequently, the celebrated Fulvius Ursinus (*Ursini*) published an edition of Arnobius at Rome in 4to, and appended to it the *Octavius*, without mentioning a word of Balduinus' discovery, but attributing it to the Cardinal Sirleto. 1580. Fulvii Ursini.

In the *Seventeenth* Century:—

In 1603, appeared two editions from rival and not very amicable editors, (1) at Bâle, in 8vo, by John a Woweren, a native of Hamburg, with an Appendix containing Cyprian's Treatise *de Vanitate Idolorum*. He appears to have been practised upon by some one who pretended to give him information about the readings of the *Codex Regius*, since those which he attributes to it are uniformly wrong. His notes are for the most part judicious. 1603. Johannis Woweri, Geverharti Elmenhorstii.

(2) The second was by Elmenhorst, published originally at Hanover, republished at Hamburgh in 1610 and 1612, in folio. As a critical edition it is worthless: though the editor mentions that he has used several MSS.: it is useful, however, for the number of parallel passages which it contains, quoted from a variety of authors.

Desiderius Heraldus, who had published an edition of Arnobius with the text of the *Octavius*, at Paris in 1605, in 8vo, in which he had introduced several alterations from the *Codex Regius*, edited an edition of Tertullian, together with Minucius Felix, in 1613, Paris, 4to, containing a few illustrative notes. 1605. Desiderii Heraldi.

No other editions of importance intervened between this and that of Nicolaus Rigaltius (*Nicholas Rigaut*), a distinguished jurist and Editor of Tertullian, published 1643. Nicolai Rigaltii.

at Paris, in 1643, 4to, containing the treatise of Cyprian *de Idolorum Vanitate.* Rigaut collated the MS., which was in his time transferred to Paris, with great care; and his account of the readings is in fact the only one on which full reliance can be placed. The notes are few, but exhibit learning and judgment. The edition was reprinted at Leyden in 1645, with an Appendix containing Julius Firmicus *de Profana ac Vera Religione,* edited by Wower, and also at Paris. Davies says of Rigaut, in the Preface to his own edition, *inter editores Minucianos, meo quidem judicio, agmen ducit.*

1652. Jacobi Ouzelii.

The first *Variorum* edition, was one of great pretence, but which failed to secure anything but the well-merited contempt of all true scholars. It was published at Leyden by James Ouzelius (*Oisel*), a jurist of Dantzic, in 4to; containing the *Prolegomena* of Balduinus. The editor, who committed himself to the mercy of critics at the age of 21, informs us that he wrote his notes *prelo currente*: such of them as are worth reading are unacknowledged transcripts from well-known treatises, such as that of Vossius *de Idololatria;* and Selden *de Dis Syris.* Schönemann says of him: "Futilissimi hujus commentatoris notarum colluvies immensitate sua reliquorum omnium longe superat. Ad singula Minucii verba undecunque omnia [apta inepta incredibili stupore et imprudentia corrosa sunt." It was, nevertheless, reprinted at Halle a. 1672, in 8vo, with the notes placed at the foot of the text, and not, as in the first edition, at the end of the whole volume.

Biblioth. *Patrr.* p. 71.

1699. Christophori Cellarii.

There is a strong contrast between this ponderous edition and that of Cellarius at Halle, a. 1699, in 8vo, and again a. 1726, which contains the above mentioned treatise of Cyprian, the dissertation of Balduinus, and an Essay *de usu antiquitatis ecclesiasticæ Christianis scholis commendandæ,* with a collection of brief but scholarlike notes.

The text, which is here for the first time divided into Chapters and Sections, is not so good as that of Rigaltius. Cellarius has fallen into the same error about the number of manuscripts of this author that Wowerus had fallen into previously.

1707. Johannis Davisii

In the *eighteenth* Century appeared by far the most useful edition of all that had hitherto been published, that of Dr John Davies, Fellow (afterwards President) of Queens' College, Cambridge, printed at the University Press, in 1707, 8vo. It contains besides Balduinus' *Dissertatio* the *Instructiones* of Commodianus. A second edition was published in 1712. Gallandi in his *Bibliotheca Patrum* followed the revision of Davies.

1709. Jacobi Gronovii.

It was followed by a second *Variorum* edition, viz. that of James Gronovius (8vo. Lugd. Batav.), in which the notes of Wowerus, Elmenhorst, Heraldus and Rigaltius are given unabridged. It contains also Cyprian *de I. V.*, and Julius Firmicus. Many of his notes are devoted to an exposure of the plagiarisms of Ouzelius.

1760. Johannis Gottlieb Lindneri.

After an interval of fifty years Lindner, a critic of Ernesti's school, published the text of the dialogue (Langensalza, 1760, 8vo.) with a preface by Ernesti on the advantages of studying the Fathers, the *Dissertatio* of Balduinus, and an useful collection of notes, partly selected from previous commentators and the adversaria of different scholars, partly original. In the second edition, published 1773, many improvements were introduced: the critical notes abridged to make room for additional explanatory remarks, and an *Epistola Historico-Critica* by J. D. van Hoven *de vera Minucii ætate* substituted for the *Prolegomena* of Balduinus. His *Analysis Logica Dialogi* is reprinted in the present edition.

1836. J. H. B. Lübkert.

In all the above-mentioned editions, the notes are written in Latin; the first with notes in a modern language was that of Lübkert (Leipsig, 1836): which con-

tains an introduction, analysis, and copious notes principally borrowed from preceding editors, and has a German translation appended. In a critical point of view it falls short of many of its predecessors.

Eduardi de Muralto.

In the same year appeared an edition by Edward de Muralto, a pupil of Professor Orelli at Zurich; purporting to give a more faithful collation of the Codex Regius, and an entirely fresh one of another MS. preserved at Brussels. Unfortunately, however, the copious *apparatus criticus*, and collection of conjectural emendations which the editor has amassed with diligence far greater than they deserve, do not compensate for his inaccuracy in transcribing the *Codex Regius*.

Besides these single editions of our author, there are several collections of the works of the Fathers, in which a place has been assigned to him: viz.

Gallandi, *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum.* Venetiis, 1765—1781.

Despont, *Bibl. Maxima Vett. Patt.* Lugd. Bat. 1677.

Oberthür, *Opp. Patrr.* Wirceburgi 1777—1779.

A. B. Caillau, *Collectio SS. Eccl. Patrum.* Paris, 1827.

E. G. Gersdorf, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Selecta.* Lipsiæ, 1839.

J. P. Migne, *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus.* Par. 1844.

The last of which, as containing a body of variorum notes, would have been very useful, had not the extreme carelessness of the editors rendered it impossible to place any confidence in their work.

Several translations have been made: the best are those of William Reeves, printed with the *Apologies of the Primitive Fathers.* London, 2 Voll. 8vo. 1717.

Sir D. Dalrymple (Lord Hailes). Edinburgh, 1781.

Nicolas P. d'Ablancourt. Paris, 1646.

T. G. Russwurm, in German, with an Introduction. Hamburg, 1824. 4to.

DISSERTATIO

FRANCISCI BALDUINI *IC.*

IN

MARCI MINUCII FELICIS

OCTAVIUM.

DISSERTATIO.

UT hunc sive Libellum, sive Dialogum, qui multis jam seculis falso creditus est dictusque esse octavus Arnobii *adversus Gentes, et inscriberem, et esse plane liquidoque affirmarem*[a] M. Minucii felicis OCTAVIUM, *facile mihi persuaserunt duo et boni et antiqui et graves testes auctoresque,* Lactantius *atque* Hieronymus. *Ille enim suarum Institutionum Lib.* I. *cap. undecimo citat* Minucium Felicem in eo, *ut ait,* libro, qui Octavius inscribitur: *et ex eo verba quædam descripta recitat, quæ non patiuntur nos aut alium aliquem, aut alterius cujusquam Octavium fingere. Idem Lib.* V. *cap.* 1. *loquens de Christianorum, quos legerit, eloquentia, primo loco hunc Minucium laudat:* Minucius (*inquit*) Felix, non ignobilis inter causidicos loci fuit. Hujus liber, cui OCTAVIUS titulus est, declarat, quam idoneus veritatis assertor esse potuisset, si se totum ad id studium contulisset. *Testis alter est* Hieronymus, *qui hunc* (*sicuti ipse fatetur*) *Lactantium sequutus, in Catalogo scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*[1] *ait:* Minucius Felix, Romæ insignis causidicus, scripsit Dialogum Christiani et Ethnici disputantium, qui OCTAVIUS inscribitur. *Idem*[2] *in epistola ad Magnum oratorem Romanum,* Minucius (*inquit*) Felix, causidicus Romani fori, in libro, cui titulus OCTAVIUS est, quid gentilium scripturarum dimisit intactum? *Jam autem non esse hunc librum* Arnobii *satis patet, quum Minucii esse apparet. Et vero quod* Hieronymus *in eadem epistola subjicit, indicare alioqui poterat, Arnobii non esse, quum quidem non nisi septem, qui etiamnum extant, libros adversus Gentes* Arnobium *scripsisse testetur. Cumque alterum quendam librum Minucio nostro falso inscriptum fuisse narret, tanto miror doleoque magis, hunc,*

[1] [cap. lviii. Cf. *Ep. ad Pammach.* 30.]

[2] [p. 1084.]

[a] Hoc ante *Balduinum* nostrum viderat *Hadr. Junius* Animadv. Lib. VI. cap. i., licet hanc observationem, Lib. III. cap. i. *Ant. Marillono* referat acceptam. Vide et *Pauli Leopardi* Emendat. Lib. VI. cap. xxiv. DAVIS.

qui ejus erat unicus καὶ γνήσιος, *fuisse illi subreptum, alterique non domino injuste adscriptum: ut et plagio et partu supposito facta nostro Minucio duplex injuria esse videatur. Sed hæc frequens est querela de librariorum nihil non temere miscentium facinoribus. Fortasse, ut hunc libellum* Arnobio *quidam adscriberent, quædam styli et argumenti similitudo, quæ imperitos persæpe fallit, fecit: et quum legerent* OCTAVIUM, *statim somniarunt octavum aliquem esse librum. Ridicule profecto et inepte. Saltem* Arnobio *perpetua oratione utenti Dialogum temere adscribendum non esse cogitassent. Verum inscitiæ tam cæca quam confidens est audacia. Sane Hieronymus*[3] *scribit, Nepotianum suum tam in scriptoribus ecclesiasticis diligenter versatum fuisse; ut si quid ex iis proferretur, statim agnosceret atque discerneret, quid* Tertulliani, *quid* Cypriani, *quid* Lactantii, *quid* Minucii, *quid* Victorini, *quid* Arnobii *esset. Ceterum tanto magis miror,* Erasmum *eo loco, illum dico* Erasmum, *hominem acerrimo judicio præditum, et talium scriptorum minime obtusum censorem, adnotasse, hujus* Minucii *nihil nunc extare.*

[3] [*Epitaph. Nepot.* Tom. 1. p. 31.]

II. *Cujus potissimum Imperatoris temporibus Romæ vixerit noster* Minucius, *nondum mihi satis liquet.* Hieronymus *in suo Catalogo, quo scriptores Ecclesiasticos eo quo vixerunt ordine recensere videtur, illum* Origeni *proximum,* Cypriano *priorem fuisse, obscure significat. Sed ejus alioqui vel seculum vel ætatem non indicat. Certe in* Cypriani *de idolorum vanitate libello plurima sunt, quæ totidem verbis in* OCTAVIO Minucii *leguntur: necesse ut sit, aut hunc ab illo, aut illum ab hoc* [b]*ea sumpsisse.* Hieronymus *vero in epistola ad Magnum, loquens de Latinis scriptoribus Ecclesiæ, etsi* Minucium *ante* Cyprianum *laudet, tamen illam de Idolis orationem ascribere* Cypriano *magis videtur. Sed et in apologia pro suis adversus Jovinianum libris, primo loco* Tertullianum, *secundo* Cyprianum, *tertio* Minucium *commemorat.* Sabellicus, *sed sine teste, adfirmat eum Romæ floruisse, quo tempore Urbanus ibi erat Episcopus: hoc est, temporibus Alexandri Severi Imperatoris. Si ita esset, esset* Minucius *antiquior* Cypriano, *æqualis* Tertulliano, *nostrisque adeo Jurisconsultis* Ulpiano *et* Paulo. *Verum etsi posteriorem fuisse credam, tamen proxime illa*

[b] [Nisi uterque sumsit ex Tertulliani *Apologetico*. C. A.]

tempora sequutum esse existimo; nostra vero non attingere nisi intervallo longissimo, hoc est, annorum[c] *prope* CIↃ.CCC.

III. Minuciam *gentem olim Romæ nobilem fuisse memini, in qua quatuor consules* Minucii Augurini *intra annos quadraginta numerari possunt. Sed et* Minucios Rufos, *et* Minucios Thermos *in Fastis Consularibus lego. Denique et* Minucius Fundanus *Asiæ præses fuit illustris, ad quem Hadrianus Imp. non iniquam de Christianis legem misit: ut jam nihil dicam de eo, cujus in epistolis meminit* [1]Plinius, *vel quem ille noster laudat* Julianus, *cujus ad* Minucium Natalem *libri de jure civili laudantur. His vero omnibus unum* Minucium Felicem, *etsi non fuerit ejusdem aut gentis aut familiæ, facile antepono, ætate quidem posteriorem, doctrina tamen, virtute et (quod primo loco numerandum est) pietate multo superiorem. Fuit enim non modo jurisconsultus magnus, et excellens suo tempore orator: sed et (quod majus est) fuit serio Christianus. Afrum fuisse suspicor, licet id adfirmare non ausim. Certe* Frontonis *Cirtensis (Cirta autem fuit nobilissima Numidiæ civitas, cujus et in Pandectis mentio fit) ita*[2] *meminit, ut in Africa versatum se esse significet. Estque genus dicendi, scribendique sequutus, quale Afri illi,* Tertullianus, Cyprianus, Arnobius: *ut jam de posterioribus non loquar, quos eadem olim aluit Africa, quæ ut semper aliquid novi proferre dicebatur, sic etiam religionis nostræ vindices et patronos doctissimos, acerrimosque protulit, et ad ipsius quoque Romanæ Ecclesiæ præsidium atque defensionem emisit. Nam et ex eadem Africa prodibant hostes minime ignavi, neque improbi minus, quam vehementes calumniatores, qualis (ne longius abeam) fuit ille, cujus jam memini,* Fronto: *quem quidem tam impudentem rhetorem, quam impium Christianorum adversarium fuisse, ex Minucio intelligemus. Nollem hunc fuisse Papirium Frontonem Jurisconsultum, qui in Pandectis laudatur. Suspicor potius fuisse Cornelium Frontonem Rhetorem: quem Capitolinus narrat fuisse præceptorem M. Antonini Philosophi Imperatoris et ex cujus etiam schola oratoria accepimus prodiisse illum nostrum* [3]Melitonem, *qui ad Christianorum defensionem eloquentiam suam convertit: ut quod illis impius præceptor probrum asperserat maledicendo, bonus discipulus abstergeret respondendo.*

[1] [*Ep.* i. 14, et vii. 2.]

[2] [capp. ix. xxxi.]

[3] [Sardensem Episcopum, auctorem Apologiæ pro Christianis. Hieronym. *de Vir. Illustr.* c. 24.]

[c] Prodiit hæc Dissertatio A. D. M.DLX.

IV. *Minucium nostrum Romæ causas egisse, paulo ante ex Lactantio et Hieronymo dictum est: neque hoc ipse dissimulat, cum vindemiarum feriis curam judiciariam sibi* [cap. ii.] *remissam fuisse narrat. Sic enim et* Ulpianus *in Pandectis Lege* I. *de Feriis scribit, M. Antonini Imperat. oratione expressum fuisse,* ne quis messium aut vindemiarum tempore adversarium cogeret ad judicium venire. *Sicuti et* Suetonius *cap.* XXXV. *narrat Augustum statuisse,* ne Septembri Octobrive mense necesse esset in Senatum venire. *Imo vero et ipse* Cyprianus, *tanquam alter* Minucius, *in sua epistola*[1] *ad Donatum, meminit ejus temporis, quo* (*ut ait*) indulgente vindemia solutus animus in quietem solennes et statas anni fatigantis inducias sortitur. *At tum quidem secessus amœnos captare se ait, ubi de rebus divinis cogitet. Non dissimilis est narratio nostri* Minucii. *Felices vero illæ feriæ, quibus a foro subselliisque abductus nobilissimus causidicus est ad religiosam sive* Lib. II. *de Orat.* cap. VI. *commentationem, sive disputationem.* Cicero, *quod abs nostro Scævola accepit, narrat* Lælium cum Scipione solitum esse rusticari: eosque incredibiliter repuerascere esse solitos, cum rus ex urbe tanquam ex vinculis evolassent: conchas *etiam* et umbilicos ad Cajetam et ad Lucrinum legere consuesse, et ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque descendere. *Ejus vero exempli statim mihi in mentem venit, quum* Minucium *audirem, relicto strepitu forensi, cum suo Octavio rusticari, et in littore Ostiensi suaviter spectare puerilem, quem describit, ludum. Sed cum deinde audio, quam in illo secessu et gravis et seria de religione disputatio fuerit, et quale sit in deserto fornice concilium; sentio, nunquam coactum Romæ fuisse senatum majori de re: nullumque forum, urbem nullam, nullum negotium, illi sive otio sive solitudini prætulero; sæpiusque ut jurisconsulti eo modo feriari, secedere, atque rusticari aliquando velint, optare cogor. An in eorum animos cadere non potest sancta aliqua, et religiosa, et secreto suo digna rerum divinarum cogitatio?* Lactantius *innuit Minucium sese totum non contulisse ad studium rerum Ecclesiasticarum. Sed tanto nobilior ejus jurisprudentia fuit, quæ qualis esse debet, in republica fuit: et rerum divinarum humanarumque curam et cognitionem conjunxit: tantoque propterea magis ejus exemplum nostri ordinis hominibus commendo, ut saltem diebus nefastis in otio melioris religionis*

[1] [Tractat. *de gratia Dei*, § 1.]

fastos excolant, iisque se dent atque addicant. Habebant olim feriantes Romani suam decursionem Tiberinam, *cujus meminit* Cicero, *lib.* v. *de Fin. cap.* 24. *suamque* (*ut*[d] *leges nostræ vocant*) Majumam *ad Ostiam. Sed excursio nostri* Minucii *quam minime aut otiosa aut ludicra fuit? digna profecto, cujus vestigia libenter conspiceret* Augustinus: *et illum recessum, in quo habita est disputatio, salutaret, cum in ecclesia Ostiensi matrem suam Monicam sepeliret. Equidem religiosi ejus colloquii, quod sancta hæc matrona cum filio suo habuit ad ostia illa Tiberina,* (*sicuti ipse recitat*[2]) *meminisse soleo, quoties Dialogum hunc Minucianum lego.*

[2] [*Confess.* Lib. xi. cap. x. sqq.]

V. *Quænam esset Romani fori conditio, cum in eo versaretur* Minucius, *quæque Ecclesiæ in ea urbe tunc facies esset, ejus ætatis memoria plane ostendit: et quæ aliquando scripsi ad Edicta veterum Principum Romanorum de Christianis, eam rem illustrant. Neque ignota historia temporum, quibus Decius aut Valerianus imperavit. Bene vero habet: Jurisconsultis, quorum de jure civili responsa legimus, non solum abs religione alienis, sed et ejus acerrimis adversariis, successisse Christianum causidicum: et illud sive forum, sive collegium Romanæ togæ atque advocationis, quod tot jam annis conspersum fuerat sanguine et cineribus piorum hominum, tandem aliquando voce et vestigiis Christiani jurisperiti expiatum atque consecratum fuisse.* Arnobius[1] *libro primo gloriatur,* et oratores et jurisconsultos, magnis (*ut ait*) ingeniis præditos, *transiisse ad ecclesiam. Credo equidem, quum id scriberet, de* Minucio *eum suo cogitasse. Multos ejus ordinis fortasse numerare vix potuisset. Sed* Minucii *tamen exemplum quosdam sequutos esse credo: ut et* Minucius *habuit, quos in eodem stadio sequeretur. Saltem* Hieronymus *ad Magnum, ubi* Minucium *laudat, meminit duorum Romanæ urbis Senatorum,* Hippolyti *et* Apollonii, *qui, ut et inter scriptores Ecclesiasticos referrentur, meriti sint. Quid dicam de illo* [2]Vettio Epagatho *Lugdunensi, qui olim et multis quidem ante Minucium annis et fuit, et partim ignominiæ, partim honoris causa* (*ut varia tunc erant hominum de religione judicia*) *publice appeliatus est* [3]Advocatus Christianorum? *An horum causam aliquando in foro Rom.* Minucius *egerit, nescio. Certe*[4] Ter-

[1] [Immo libro ii. cap. 5.]

[2] [Martyr Lugdunensis sub M. Antonio et L. Vero. Testes Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 1, et Gregorius Turonensis. i. 29.]

[3] [παράκλητος Χριστιανων, Euseb. *l. l.*]

[4] *Apolog.* c. ii.

[d] Titulo utriusque codicis de Majuma. Suidas Ostiæ eos ludos celebratos addit, quorum summa fuit ἡδυπαθειν ἐν τοῖς θαλαττίοις ὕδασιν, ἀλλήλους ἐμβάλλοντες. Lindner.

tullianus *vix hoc licuisse significat, et tam odiosa tunc erat eorum sive religio, sive ecclesia, cui status reipublicæ imperiique Rom. adversabatur, totque jam erat publicis præjudiciis confossa, ut ipsius nominis Christiani confessio ad damnationem satis esset. Tantum abest, ut hujus religionis esset, quæ libertatis erat, assertio. Sed tanto magis interea miror, in tam profano et inimico foro consistere causidicum pium potuisse. Mirum vero, quum jam annis prope ducentis orbis Romanus et palam et publice et libere Christo nomen dedisset, auctoribus ipsis Imperatoribus, visam esse legem necessariam, quæ et tandem lata est, ut in nullo foro vel advocatus vel causidicus esset ullus, vel jus postulandi quisquam haberet, qui Christianus non esset, Leg.* VIII. *Cod.* de Postul. *Quam fuit itaque nobile* Minucii *nostri exemplum, qui bonarum partium, quantum potuit, patronus Romæ fuit, quo tempore nondum impune hoc licebat? certe Christianis tunc erat interdictum foro, neque iis jus postulandi prætor dabat. Verum etsi magis illi palliati quam togati esse solerent: tamen quia iis respublica sæpe carere non poterat, aliquando togatos esse eos, et eorum quosdam aliquod in repub. munus obire, passi sunt ethnici principes. Christiani Imperatores deinde multo fuere indulgentiores, qui eos et consules et præfectos Urbi atque etiam Prætorio interdum creabant, quos alioqui non ignorabant esse acerrimos hostes religionis, quod intelligi potest vel ex unius Symmachi conditione. Sed facti tandem aliquando sunt severiores, et senatum forumque Romanum perpurgarunt, et Minucios quosdam esse jusserunt, quicunque vel jus dicerent, vel causas agerent. Aram Victoriæ, quæ in vestibulo curiæ stabat, ad quam senatus jurare atque sacrificare solebat, jam pridem everterant, ipso etiam et* [5]Symmacho *et senatu reclamante. Sed effecerunt postremo, ut non modo a tali superstitione liberi essent omnes togati, sed etiam ut nulla in foro nisi Christiana esset illa jurisprudentia, cujus jam olim aliqua in* Minucio *nostro effigies fuerat.*

[5] [Lib. x. Epist. 54. *ed. Jurcti.*]

VI. *Minuciani hujus Libelli inscriptio, et Dialogi forma, antiquum eruditumque scribendi morem refert. Genus dicendi est argutum, acre, vehemens. Est pressum, densum, nervosum, crebris sententiis compactum, omniumque antiquitatum atque historiarum memoria refertum: et in quo plures sententias, quam periodos numerare possis. Nam neque verbosi olim fuerunt Christiani, qui verba dare*

nondum didicerant: et eorum patroni erant homines docti, ac (ut uno verbo dicam) polyhistores. Quod ad falsa crimina attinet, non tam verbis et libellis quam vita et re ipsa refellebant adversarios.

VII. *Quæstio, quæ hic proponitur, et causa, qua de agitur, magna est, de religione nempe vera aut falsa. Acerrima utrinque est actio atque contentio. Exitus et victoria est, qualis esse debet, ubi verum cum falso confligit. Malarum partium vehemens patronus, et bonarum gravis hostis est Cæcilius Natalis. Harum contra vindex, et illarum accusator acerrimus atque justissimus est Octavius Januarius. Medius sedet bonus judex atque arbiter Minucius Felix. Contentionis occasio fuit, quod cum hic cum duobus illis, quos nominavi, in littore Ostiensi ambularet, ab Octavio Christiano reprehensus sit Cæcilius ethnicus, qui occurrens idolo Serapidis, illud colere se significasset. Sane olim Pisone et Gabinio Coss. Serapidis sacra Capitolio et urbe fuerant ejecta: sed postea fuerunt restituta, et in suburbiis facile hærebant. Reprehensus Cæcilius fremit, et tanquam irritatus graviter in Christianorum religionem invehitur: suamque simul superstitionem defendens, Octavium veluti lacessit. Sed imprudens incurrit in adversarium fortem et acrem: et (ut ille ait)* [Tertullian. *Apolog.* c. vi.]

[e] Fragili cupiens illidere dentem,
Infregit solido.

VIII. *Causæ status non unus est. Cæcilius varie et confuse agit de multis. Octavius pleraque et depellit sola inficiatione, et retorquet justa recriminatione. Quædam ingenue confitetur: sed jure defendit. Itaque hæc disceptatio partim facti, partim juris quæstionibus constat.* Tertullianus *antea, et ante* Tertullianum, Justinus *et* Athenagoras, *quorum extant apologetici libelli, et postea* Cyprianus *partim contra Demetrianum, partim in libello de* vanit. idol. *et multo deinde magis* Arnobius *atque* Lactantius *hanc causam egerunt: et usi plerumque sunt non iisdem modo et sententiis et argumentis, sed et verbis et formulis. Sic enim majores nostri eadem de iisdem (ut ille olim dicebat) dicere solebant. Atque utinam posteritas tale observasset exemplum: ambitiosa novitas bonam antiquitatem non inquinasset. Velim sane apologias eorum, quos*

[e] Apud *Horatium,* Lib. II. Sat. I. v. 77, legitur *offendet solido.*

dixi, cum hoc Minuciano libello conferri; ut alium nunc commentarium colligere non sit necesse. Multa ex veterum philosophorum disputationibus et poetarum fabulis, et Romana, Græcaque historia subtiliter et docte hic repetuntur. Verum ineptum esset iis de rebus annotationes multas et ociosas hoc loco inculcare. Mallem quæ ad antiquitatum Christianarum memoriam pertinent, copiose explicare. Sed et harum commentariis alius dabitur liberior locus: nam iis, quos jam inchoavi, absolvendis aliquando me dedam. Jam vero præter illos, quos dixi, libellos, valde velim etiam hic legi et comparari adversarias orationes Symmachi *et* Ambrosii: *ut, quam causam acriter quidem, sed privatim tamen, quo tempore Christianis palam esse vix licebat, actam esse ex Minucio audiemus, eandem multis post annis publice in aulico consistorio iterum iterumque agitatam, in eaque nobilem Romanorum sacrorum patronum, qui et Pont. Max. et Præfectus Urbi erat, cum maximo et acerrimo antistite Christianæ religionis commissum, quo tempore nostri liberi erant, et bona æquaque conditione, audiamus: præsertim cum judex et arbiter sederet, non modo tam religiosus, quam Minucius, sed multo majoris auctoritatis, et qui rem bene judicatam exequi, et adversarii calumniatoris petulantiam reprimere atque coercere posset. Siquis denique hic adjungat* Augustini *libros de civitate Dei, ad Octavii disputationem multum lucis et splendoris adjunxerit. Ego in talibus commentariis nunc describendis non immorabor. Sed breviter tantum delibabo quædam capita Minuciani libelli, ut lectorem præmoneam.*

IX. *Cæcilius principio laudat nescio quam sive Academicam ἀκαταληψίαν, sive Pyrrhonicam ἐποχὴν, quasi nulla esset religionis scientia, et Epicurea audacia exagitat Dei providentiam, prope ut ille Cotta*[f] *apud* Ciceronem *in libris de Natura Deorum: Octavius providentiam defendit: neque iis etiam argumentis uti dedignatur, quibus Velleius apud eundem* Ciceronem *refellit Cottæ vanitatem. Cæcilius exprobrabat, Christianos Deo, ut quidam fato, addicere, quicquid agitur geriturve. Abs verbo Fati, tametsi odioso propter ineptias Stoicorum, qui ea voce abutebantur,*

[f] Transposita et confusa vocabula. C. enim VELLEIUS, senator, est ille Epicureus qui in libro I *de Oratore* inde ab VIII capite ad XXI Dei providentiam impugnat, cui C. COTTA, Academicus, respondet a capite illo XXI ad finem libri. Adde initium libri II.

non abhorret Octavius. Sed longiorem ea de re disputationem in aliud tempus rejicit, et eum veluti scopulum caute refugit. Sane Hieronymus *in Catalogo*[1] *et ad Magnum*[2] *testis est, quendam de fato librum olim* Minucio *inscriptum fuisse. Sed falsam fuisse inscriptionem monet. Credo illi a quibusdam esse ascriptum, quia hic videbatur tale aliquid esse pollicitus.* Arnobius, *quem* Minucii *discipulum et imitatorem appellare soleo, modo adversarios de fato accusat, modo etiam Christianos eodem nomine accusatos fuisse ostendit: et in utraque tamen causa, cum ad rem ventum est, hæret, et nescio quo modo attonitus* ἐπέχει. *Nam* (*juvat enim propter Minucium et quosdam alios obiter hoc notare*) *Libr.* VII, *posteaquam exagitavit fatum, præsertim quale Stoici fingebant:* has tamen (*inquit*) partes, quia res nimium longi est multique sermonis, inexplicatas transcurrimus atque intactas. *Idem Libr.* II. *cum scriberet Christianos urgeri rogatos, an sine Dei voluntate quicquam fieret: tam se utrinque premi sentit, ut ad elabendum deprecatione cujusdam ignorantiæ utatur.* Si (*inquit*) cuncta ejus voluntate conficiuntur, nec citra ejus nutum quicquam potest in rebus vel provenire vel cadere: necessario sequitur, ut mala etiam cuncta voluntate ejus intelligantur enasci. Sin autem dicere voluerimus, pessimorum ab eo rejicientes causas, mali esse conscium generatoremque nullius: incipient videri aut eo invito res pessimæ fieri, aut (quod sit immane dixisse) nesciente, ignaro, ac nescio.

[1] [§ 58.]
[2] [*epist.* lxxxiv.]
[3] [cap. xii.]

X. *Quid igitur tandem, inter has veluti Symplegadas constrictus, quæstioni respondet?* Respondeamus (*inquit*) necesse est, nescire nos ista, etc. Justinus *antea in sua apologia non dubitaverat* τὴν τῆς εἱμαρμένης ἀνάγκην (*ut appellat*) *aperte inficiari, planeque rejicere, dum scopulum unum, quem imminere alioqui putat vult effugere. Atqui tunc in alterum incurrit, quem non minus aut* Minucius *aut* Arnobius *reformidasse videtur. Tandem vero* Augustinus *in eadem Africa volens veluti persolvere, quod* Minucius *pollicitus esse dicebatur, et, quod hic præstare fortasse vix potuisset, cumulate dependere; subtiliter exposuit in hac quæstione medium quidpiam, quo satisfieri posse judicavit difficultati. Sciebant et* Minucius *et* Arnobius, *quænam olim fuisset dissensio disputatioque inter Chrysippum et Diodorum* περὶ δυνατῶν καὶ εἱμαρμένης, *sive de* FATO. *Nam*

[1] [I. cap. xlii.]

et nos ex Cicerone *et* Plutarcho *illam utcunque cognoscimus. Sed ne in hujus quidem judicibus et arbitris nostri quicquam deprehendebant, quod omnino sequerentur. Itaque quamdiu non liquebat,* AMPLIUS *pronunciare, quam temere aliquid statimque definire maluerunt.*

XI. *Redeo ad Cœcilium. Is suorum numinum antiquitatem, passimque receptam auctoritatem, quantum potest, tuetur: Christianorum Deum verum et unicum exagitat, et eos interea tanquam ἀθέους proscindit. Octavius idolorum fabulam et vanitatem salse traducit, iisdem etiam verbis usus, quibus* Cyprianus *in eodem argumento utitur. Neque vero difficilis fuit reprehensio, cum quidem et ipsius* Ciceronis *libri de Natura Deorum veluti suffragarentur: nam et* Arnobius[1] *testis est, propterea quosdam Christianorum hostes aliquando mussitasse, libros illos jussu senatus abolendos atque concremandos esse. Quid? res ipsa, quæ abs suis quoque cultoribus est irrisa (nulla enim unquam stultior atque ineptior fabula ullius superstitionis fuit) ultro sese refellebat. Sed quod huc pertinebat, facile describere potuit* Minucius *ex* Tertulliano, Justino, Athenagora, Theophilo: *ut et postea ex* Minucio Arnobius, Lactantius, Ambrosius, Augustinus, *cum eandem causam agerent. Certe quod Octavius de Saturno narrat,* Lactantius, *ipsum* Minucium *auctorem laudans, repetit, latiusque exponit Libr.* I. *cap.* XI. *Ut autem Octavius totam fabulam Romanæ superstitionis salse subsannat: sic et ipsorum oraculorum, quibus tantopere gloriabantur ethnici, vanitatem eleganter ostendit; ac ante suam quidem ætatem oraculum Apollinis Pythii desiisse significat: sicuti et* Plutarchus *fatetur temporibus Adriani Imperatoris plane defecisse. Sic enim cum Christianæ religionis veritas invalesceret, necesse fuit evanescere imposturam illorum τῶν χρηστηρίων. Porro*[2] *Octavius de dæmonibus et eorum, cum abs Christianis adjurantur, trepidatione narrat, quod antea* [3]Justinus *et* [4]Tertullianus *in Apologetico et* Cyprianus *contra Demetrianum, et postea* [5]Lactantius *Divin. Institut. Itaque facile refellit ipsum quoque Ulpianum, Christianos, ut impostores, hujus (ut vocant) exorcizationis causa, irridentem Lege* I de extraordinaria cognitione. *Inanes non fuisse exorcismos posterioribus quoque temporibus, et fuisse frequentes in Ecclesia intelligi quoque potest ex* Optato *Afro, et* Augustino, *scriptoribus a Minucio minime alienis.*

[1] [*adv. Gent.* Lib. III. cap. vii.]

[2] [cap. xxvi.]

[3] [*Apolog.* II. cap. vi.]

[4] [cap. xxii.]

[5] Lib. iv. cap. 27.

XII. *Sed et de Deo unico multa Octavius*[1] *inculcat, non dissimilia iis, quæ* Justinus *περὶ μοναρχίας et* Clemens Alexandrinus *collegerant. Nam et utrumque legisse noster potuit. Neque vero præterit, quod* [2]Cyprianus *urget, ipsum quoque vulgus naturaliter appellare Deum unum et singularem, cum Numen invocat; sicuti et* Lactantius *libro secundo, capite primo, ait, Ethnicos, cum jurarent,* Deum *potius quam* Jovem *nominasse. In antiqua formula jurisjurandi Rom. nominatur Diespiter. Sed* Cicero *libro*[3] *septimo epist. ad Trebat. dixit,* jurare Jovem lapidem. *Sæpe etiam Jovis meminisse olim jurantes constat, et apud Græcos Ζεὺς ὅρκιος est appellatus. Mirum vero, quod Cæcilius gloriatur,* ignotis etiam numinibus Romanos aras extruxisse. *Nam quid hoc aliud est, quam errorem confiteri? Talem aram Paulus Athenis vidisse se*[4] *ait, et ex ea sumit argumentum convincendæ hujus ignorantiæ, docendorumque Atheniensium. Neque in Attica modo, sed et Elide fuisse aras ita inscriptas, testis est* [5]Pausanias. *Et fortasse postea Octavius quum docere Cæcilium instituit, Pauli exemplo inde repetiit suæ catecheseos de veri Dei cognitione principium.*

1 [cap. xviii.]

2 [*de Idoll. Vanit.* cap. v. 8.]

3 [*ep.* 12.]

4 [*Act. Apost.* xvii. 23.]

5 *ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμός, Eliac.* Lib. i. cap. 14.

XIII. *Illud quoque mirum videri posset, Cæcilium gloriari,* quæ apud alios populos singula numina coluntur, universa Romæ coli: *nihil ut supersit, quam ut suum Pantheon gloriose ostentet. Atqui obstabat lex Romuli, quæ peregrinos Deos coli vetabat. Obstabat* Ciceronis *sententia, qui confusionem religionum alioqui fore pronunciat. Sed peregrinos fortasse non judicabant, quia jam erant publice acciti, et veluti civitate donati. Sic urbs illa, quæ ab Athenæo lib.* i. *cap.* xvii. *scite dicta erat ἐπιτομὴ τῆς οἰκουμένης, salse abs* Theophilo *nostro ante* Minucii *ætatem appellata est ἐπιτομὴ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας. Nam et* Tertullianus[1] *dixerat, in ea consedisse conventum dæmoniorum, curiamque Deorum. Interea non temere adjecit, illic quidvis colere jus fuisse præter Deum verum. Estque profecto memorabile quod* [2]Augustinus *de consensu Evangelistarum scribit, cur illum unum non coluerint Romani, qui colebant omnes alios.* Quia (*inquit*) solum se coli voluerit, illos autem Deos gentium, quos isti jam colebant, coli prohibuerit. *Quum autem de ipso Christo quæreretur, alia etiam causa fuit, cur Senatus reclamaret. Porro ut* Augustinus *in eo libro multa inculcat, quæ ex*

1 [*de Spectaculis,* cap. vii.]

2 [lib. i. cap. 18.]

nostro Octavio repetita videri possent, sic et quod eleganter respondet de excidio Hierosolymitano, Octavii de eadem re responsionem confirmat. Sed singula nunc describere nihil attinet. Redeo ad Minucianum auditorium.

XIV. *Cæcilius Christianos accusat quod* templa tanquam busta despiciant. *Fatetur Octavius. Nam et* Clemens Alexandrinus *in* [1]προτρεπτικῷ *antea probaverat illa esse sepulchra. Sed et* Arnobius[2] templa bustis superlata *fuisse ait. Ceterum Christiani alia postea ratione ex suorum Martyrum sepulchris, non modo templa, sed et altaria effecerunt. Neque non potuit Minucius ea vidisse. Sed ita est profecto. Etsi majores nostri religionis nomine multa facerent in speciem similia iis quæ ab ethnicis fiebant: tamen quia alius erat finis, aliusque usus, sua sacra defendi posse sciebant, etsi aliorum* κακοζηλίαν *damnarent. Sacrificiorum Romanorum ritus quam valde irrident! Atqui non dissimilis eorum, quæ lege divina Judæis mandata erant, forma fuit.*

[1] [c. x. § 91. p. 74. *ed. Potter.* δεικνύντες τῶν εἰδώλων τὰ τεμένη τάφους τινὸς ἢ δεσμωτήρια.]
[2] Lib. vi.

XV. *Etsi autem Christiani ætate nostri* Minucii *sua templa superbe attollere ad exemplum ethnicorum non possent, tamen suas saltem habebant cryptas, et quasdam etiam ædes et domus sacras in apertis et editis locis, ut* Tertullianus[1] *ait, et lubenter conveniebant ad illa suorum martyrum sepulchra, quæ* κοιμητήρια *vocabant. Nam et hæc illis permisisse Gallienum Imper. (qui Minucii ætatem non longo intervallo attigit)* [2]Eusebius *scribit. Ridet autem Cæcilius, quod Christiani suos jam vita functos, non tam mortuos esse, quam dormire dicerent et crederent corporumque resurrectionem futuram jactarent. Atqui et apud suum* [3]Homerum *legerat,* ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρειν, *et apud* [4]Virgilium somnos adimere, *cum de mortuis in vitam revocandis agitur. Quid præterea hic responderit Octavius, conferri potest cum iis quæ antea* Theophilus, Athenagoras, Justinus, Tertullianus *eadem de re scripsere: nam hos secutus* Minucius *est.* [5]*Ridet Cæcilius Christianos, quod* cadavera ungant, non coronent. *Atqui et Romani, etsi quid agerent ignorarent, unguenta funebria habebant. Notus est ille* Ennii *versiculus,*

Tarquinii corpus bona femina lavit et unxit.

Et licet Leges duodecim Tabularum servilem uncturam cadaverum (ut ait [6]Cicero) *tollerent aliam tamen relinquebant: et ipsi Jurisconsulti inter justos funeris sumptus*

[1] [*adv. Valentin.* c. iii.: *de Idololatria* c. vii.: cf. Dionys. Alex. ap. *Euseb.* vii. n. 14.]
[2] [*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. vii. c. 13.]
[3] *Il.* Ω. 344.
[4] *Æn.* iv. 244.
[5] [cap. xii.]
[6] *de Legg. Lib.* II. *cap.* 24.

unguenta referunt l. trigesima septima, De Religios. et Sumpt. fun.

XVI. *Quod ad* coronas cadaverum *attinet, fatetur Octavius Christianis ineptas videri: et eos propterea in eo genere ethnicos imitari nolle.* Tertullianus[1] *in libro de Corona militis ait,* a seculo coronari et ipsas Libitinas: *et ipse* Cicero *pro Flacco*[2] *meminit* aureæ coronæ impositæ mortuo *cuidam* Castricio. *Verum quid antiquæ leges Romanæ de coronis cadaverum statuerent, dixi ad duodecim Tabulas. Denique ridet et indignatur Cæcilius, apud Christianos cadavera* humari, *non* uri. *Verum est vetus illud,* Risu inepto nihil est ineptius. *Quid Octavius? Simpliciter respondet, antiquam esse suam et meliorem sepeliendi consuetudinem. Quod et* Arnobius *respondit: nam et post Minucium mota iterum hæc quæstio est. Atqui Romani poterant sui saltem* Ciceronis *librum secundum de legibus cap.* xxii. *legisse, qui hunc morem defendit et confirmat. Et* Plinius *libro septimo, capite quinquagesimo quarto,* Ipsum, *inquit,* cremare, non fuit veteris instituti apud Romanos: terra condebantur. *Sane* Tertullianus *de Corona militis ait Christiano non licuisse cremare, et*[4] *de Resurrectione carnis ridet eos, qui* atrocissime (*ut ait*) exurunt defunctos. *Porro* Augustinus *libro undecimo Confess. significat, in Ecclesia Ostiensi peculiarem aliquem etiam fuisse morem humandorum corporum. An is quoque jam tum in usu esset, cum ibi ageret Minucius, nescio. Ridiculum vero, quod Cæcilius, severus scilicet censor, Christianos accusat, quia neque unguentis delibuti, neque sertis redimiti essent. Mirum, quod interea non miratur, eos tamen usos jam tum fuisse oleo et chrismate. Sane sobriam, siccam, frugalemque vitam, hoc est, ab unguentis alienam, ipsi etiam ethnici laudare solebant: et* Plato *ex sua Repub. quam optimam suo judicio fingit,* Homerum *non ejicit nisi unguento perfusum et vittis redimitum, et (ut hic noster Octavius ait) coronatum: cum significaret sese habere nolle cives tam molles. Ac, ne longius abeam, Vespasianus quendam unguentis madentem, et gratias agentem pro impetrata præfectura, aversatus,* Mallem, *inquit,* allium oleres. *Sed quid non objiceret Cæcilius, cum etiam Christianos accuset, quia flores naribus supponerent, nec capiti coronando imponerent. Atqui ipse* Lucianus *in suo Nigrino ipsos Romanos rectius irridet, quod Christianos hic non imiten-*

[1] cap. xiii.
[2] cap. xxxi.
[3] cap. xii.
[4] [cap. i.]
[5] [Lib. iii. p. 398, A.]
[6] [§ 30.]

tur, et faciant contra naturam, planeque nihil aut sapiant, aut sentiant. Adde [7]Tertullianum *de Corona militis.*

[7] [Cap. v. *Tam contra naturam est florem capite sectari, quam sonum nare.*]

XVII. *Ceterum Cæcilius, ut alter* Lucianus *in Peregrino, Christianos irridet, quod colant hominem crucifixum. Octavius breviter negat hominem tantum esse, quem colunt: et regerit, adversarios potius esse* ἀνθρωπολάτρας, *qui reges tanquam Deos colant, et per eorum etiam genium jurent: quin imo gravius puniant ita pejerantem, quam si quis suum Jovem jurando sciens falleret. Suspicor hic notari quandam constitutionem Alexandri Severi: quæ tamen relata est in libros juris L.* II. *Cod.* de rebus credit. *Sane olim Christianos noluisse uti tali formula jurisjurandi, testis est* Tertullianus[1] *in Apologetico. Sed tanto magis miror, eam posteriorum Cæsarum Christianorum legibus commendari.*

[1] [cap. x.]

XVIII. *Cæcilius contumeliose objicit, Christianos etiam* ipsam crucem adorare. *Negat Octavius. Adversarius iis ut furciferis maledicit. Noster (non enim eum pudet crucis Christianæ) cruciferos suo modo dici, non recusat, et de suo crucis signo religioso (quod certe majoribus olim nostris familiare fuit) respondet, quod antea* [1]Justinus *et* [2]Tertullianus *scripserant, et postea* Lactantius *libro quarto, capite vigesimo septimo. Nam et quanti illud fecerit Constantinus, notum est: certe ut vulgo res minus esset ignominiosa, edixit, ne deinceps facinorosi cruci affigerentur. Non desiit tamen Julianus Apostata, ut Cæcilius, Christianis ignominiæ causa exprobrare crucis cultum, sicuti ex* [3]Cyrillo *intelligi potest.*

[1] [*Apolog.* I. cap. lxxii.]
[2] [*Apolog.* cap. xvi.]
[3] *contra Julian.* Lib. VI. p. 194, seqq.

XIX. *Mira est impudentia calumniæ. Eo tandem evasit, ut nescio quæ sacrorum monstra Christianis objicerent adversarii, et* qualia demens (*ut quidam* [1]*poeta dixit*) Ægyptus portenta colit. *Audet etiam Cæcilius fingere illos* [2]adorare caput asini, *quanquam primus hoc non finxerit.* [3]*Octavius tam putidam calumniam inficiatione depellit, et id potius de adversariis vere dici posse, recriminando probat, secutus suum* [4]Tertullianum: *qui et Christianos vulgo dictos esse asinarios, et Christum ipsum auribus asininis tanquam aliquem Midam ab impio pictore expressum fuisse narrat. Talem autem confictam fabulam esse significat, quod* [5]Cornelius Tacitus *mentiendo tale quippiam de Judæis recitasset. Verum et ante Tacitum multis annis* Apio *Alexandrinus tempore Caligulæ in Judæis accusaverat quandam* ὀνολατρείαν. *Ceterum cum* [6]Josephus *tale*

[1] Juvenal. *Sat.* XV. init.
[2] [cap. ix.]
[3] [cap. xxviii.]
[4] [*Apol.* cap. xvi: *ad Nat.* I. 11.]
[5] [*Hist.* v. 3.]
[6] [*c. Apion.* Lib. ii. p. 1065. *ed. Genev.*]

mendacium jam refutasset, minus ignoscendum est Tacito, *qui in eo perstat; minime vero illis, qui majori etiam impudentia Christianis hoc probrum aspergunt.*

XX. *Turpius est, quod* [1]*Cæcilius eodem pudore clamitat,* [1] [cap. ix.] *eos* colere nescio quæ pudenda. *Ecquo ruit impura maledicentia? Octavius suæ verecundiæ esse intelligit, id longiori oratione non refellere. Interea audire cogitur alia non minus nefanda, cum* [2]*Cæcilius declamaret, nefarios esse Christianorum cœtus antelucanos, incesto et parricidio pollutos, prope ut olim erant Romæ Bacchanalia.* [3]*Octavius talia crimina non solum abs suis depellit, sed etiam retorquet in adversarios. Quam incesta essent Romanorum sacra, non est ignotum. Nam et eorum* [4]*poeta,* Nota Bonæ, *inquit,* secreta Deæ. *Diu etiam humanas victimas immolarunt: etsi in aliis gentibus hanc, non jam dico sanctam, sed sanguinariam et sceleratam feritatem reprehenderent. Est autem memorabile, quod* Plutarchus *in Problemat. narrat eos obtendisse ad hoc suum factum excusandum, aliorumque damnandum. Mirum vero, Christianis sacra talia objecta fuisse. Fuit tamen vetus et diuturna hæc calumnia: et quidem promiscuæ libidinis coitio, et quia Christiani sese fratres sororesque appellarent, atque etiam osculo sese invicem exciperent. Quid dicam osculo quosdam impudice abusos esse, ut et fatetur et conqueritur* Clemens Alexandrinus *in* [5]*Pædagogo? Christiani satis multa castissimi sui pudoris testimonia opponebant. Sed nihil audit impudens malevolentia, quæ ut linguam habet intemperantem, sic neque frontem, neque aures habet. Sane et olim* Apionem *tale quippiam de Judæorum cœtibus confinxisse narrat* Josephus. *Ergo nihil nostris tali infamia oppressis aliud superfuit, quam, quod scite et eleganter* Æschylus *ait,* τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνατιθέναι τῷ χρόνῳ. *Non erant impostores, qui verba darent: non homines clamosi et impotentes, qui convitiis, maledictis, libellis famosis adversarios vicissim opprimere vellent. Rebus ipsis falsum refellere et eo tandem modo vincere sedendo et silendo, malebant: et bona interea conscientia sese sustentabant atque consolabantur. Sic bonam causam agebant bene.*

[2] [cap. viii.]

[3] [cap. xxxi.]

[4] Juvenal. *Sat.* vi. 314.

[5] [Lib. iii. cap. xi. § 81.]

XXI. *Mirum rursus, Cæcilio tam insolentem visam* [1] *esse illam inter eos* fraterni nominis communionem, *cum et ipse* Ulpianus *scripserit, eum, qui fraterna caritate diligitur, etsi frater non sit, recte tamen fratrem simpliciter*

[1] [cap. ix. 2.]

appellari: quod et in libros juris relatum est, L. quinquagesima octava De hæredib. instit. *Quin immo et olim ipsos Essæos, ante tempora Christianorum, ita sese invicem compellasse, didici ex quodam Philonis fragmento, quod extat apud* Eusebium [2]*περὶ προπαρασκευῆς.*

[2] Lib. viii. cap. xii.

[1] [cap. ix. 7.] XXII. *Horribilius est alterum quod objiciebatur*[1] crimen infanticidii: *cœpitque hæc calumnia paulo post tempora Trajani, et ad Constantini ætatem perduravit, et quidem cum tragica suspicione cujusdam cœnæ Thyesteæ. Sed unde hæc suspicio? An quia Christiani dicere solerent se vesci corpore et sanguine Christi? sicut e diverso narrat* Augustinus *quosdam aliquando existimasse ab Christianis adorari Cererem et Bacchum, cum audirent in eorum mysteriis tanti fieri panem et vinum, neque alioqui rem intelligerent. Quid dicam, quod* [2]Epiphanius *narrat quosdam hæreticos, qui Gnostici et Cataphryges et Pepuziani appellabantur, se vero Christianos esse mentiebantur, commisisse, quod hic Cæcilius omnibus Christianis objicit? Sed an æquum fuit, ut viris bonis propterea affingeretur, quod ab iis erat alienissimum? Adversarii loco probationis obtendebant famam et rumorem. Sed nullo quoque jure id fieri, leges civiles pro nostris respondebant, et ipse* Quintilianus *Inst. Orator. lib.* v. *cap.* 3. *dixit,* nulli non etiam innocentissimo accidere posse fraude inimicorum falsa vulgantium, ut sinistro rumore laboret. *Quam vero procul abessent Christiani abs omni homicidio, satis* [3]*Octavius ostendit, cum ne homicidium quidem in ludis gladiatoriis spectare eos per suam religionem potuisse narrat, quod et antea* [4]Theophilus *dixit ad Autolycum, et eodem tempore* [5]Athenagoras *in Apologia, et latius* Tertullianus *in libro*[6] *de Spectaculis et postea* Lactantius *libro sexto, capite vigesimo. Sed neque cæsæ pecudis sanguinem gustasse nostros* Minucius *affirmat, sicuti et* [7]Tertullianus. *Sic enim quam Apostoli repetitam Nohæ legem rursus tulerant, multis seculis nostri diligenter observarunt, non minus quam* [8]*Apostolicum in eadem Synodo decretum περὶ πορνείας. Certe quam honestum, religiosum, pudicum, castumque fuerit Christianorum solenne convivium, quod ἀγάπην appellabant, Cæcilius, si verum ingenue dicere, quam improbe mentiri maluisset, intelligere potuerat non solum ex* Tertulliani *nostri apologia, sed et sui* Plinii *quandam ad Trajanum epistola. Sed petulantiam projectæ maledi-*

[2] *Hæres.* xlviii. cap. 14. p. 416.

[3] [cap. xxx.]

[4] [Lib. iii. § 15.]

[5] [*Legat. pro Christian.* p. 38.]

[6] [cap. xx.]

[7] [*Apolog.* cap. ix.]

[8] [*Act. Ap.* c. xv. 27.]

centiæ quid refrœnare posset? Dixi de eo convivio plura in adnotationibus ad illam epistolam, quæ jam repetere nihil attinet. Utut autem nocturni Christianorum cœtus innoxii essent, tamen obstabat lex duodecim Tabb. multis decretis confirmata, et gravia erant judicia de collegiis illicitis. Nostri vero respondebant, nihil Reipub. esse periculi a suis coitionibus, quia essent alienissimi ab omni vel ambitione vel ullius dignitatis cogitatione, nihilque esset in repub. quod affectarent, sed sua essent privata conditione contenti, ut [9] Tertullianus *in Apologetico respondet.* [9] [cap. 1.]

XXIII. *Ceterum ut jam præteream reliqua capita vel accusationis Cæcilianæ, vel Octavianæ defensionis, illud observare juvat: quum calumniator ingeniosus et acer nihil non vel confingat vel exaggeret, et majestatis quædam leviora crimina adjungat: præteriisse crimen perduellionis, quod et alii antea objecerant, et ad reos statim opprimendos imprimis idoneum esse videbatur. An id dissimulavit, quia ne tenuis quidem ejus esset suspicio? Fuit certe perpetua hæc majorum nostrorum gloria, quod nullis injuriis tam irritari potuerint, ut in principes aut tyrannos, etsi ab iis indignissime vexarentur, hostili animo essent, aut ullis adversus eos conjuratis conspirationibus (quæ tamen alioqui et speciosæ et frequentes tunc erant) assentirentur: aut, quid sua patientia, tolerantia, modestia, continentia dignum esset, non meminissent. Tantum abest ut essent aut turbulenti aut seditiosi, aut immani cupiditate ultionis abriperentur. Nam etsi ea multitudine septi essent, ut facile possent conficere, quod in hoc genere instituissent; tamen fas non esse putabant. Et vero suæ alioqui religionis et principia sustulissent, et fundamenta evertissent. Imo vero humanæ societatis vincula omnia dissolvissent. Quid multi etiam philosophi ambitiose prædicarent de tyrannicidis, notum erat. Sed nostri talibus flabellis incendi se non patiebantur; tantum abest ut religionis nomine ad publicum parricidium incitarentur? Nihil est prætermissum quod eos inflammare posset, et furor fieri dicitur læsa sæpius patientia. Sed eos religio continuit, et ad invictam modo patientiam armavit. Id vero, de quo etiam quæri hoc tempore audio et miror, perpetua plurium seculorum historia nos alias confirmabimus. Illud modo breviter attingam, quod Minucius dicere potuit, ac paulo ante ejus ætatem accidit.* Tertullianus[1] *ad Scapulam,* Circa majesta- [1] cap. 2.

tem, *inquit*, Imperatoris infamamur: tamen nunquam Albiniani nec Nigriani nec Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani. *Juvat et alterum ejusdem* Tertulliani *locum, cujus memoriam veterem hisce temporibus renovari plurimum interest, ascribere.* Unde, *inquit in* [2]*Apologetico*, et Cassii et Nigri et Albini? unde qui inter duas lauros obsident Cæsarem? Unde qui faucibus ejus exprimendis palæstricam exercent? Unde qui armati palatium irrumpunt, omnibus Stephanis atque Partheniis audaciores? De Romanis (ni fallor) id est, non de Christianis. *Ne hunc quidem locum ex historia illustrare gravabor. Avidius Cassius, Syriæ Legatus, adversus M. Antoninum Imp. surrexerat, cum prætexeret se Rempub. restituere atque conservare velle, quam Marci dissoluta indulgentia pessundaret. Christiani tamen, qui in Marci exercitu adversus Marcomannos tam frequentes fuerunt, Cassianæ factionis nulli fuerunt. Commodum impurum tyrannum et nostris infestissimum domi strangulari Romani curarunt, qui illi maxime erant familiares. An his Christianus ullus adfuit? Septimio Severo, qui ad Imperium gladiatorio animo viam affectabat, sese opposuit Pescennius Niger in Syria, et deinde Clodius Albinus in Britannia Galliaque, cum uterque tam bono jure armatus, quam Severus, sibi esse videretur. Nam et ipse* [3]Tertullianus *in libro de Pallio, hosce non minus quam Severum,* AUGUSTOS *aliquando agnovit atque appellavit. Christiani tamen in eorum vel exercitu vel factione nulli inventi sunt. Plautianus, qui Principi proximus erat, et post eum maximæ auctoritatis, ut Severus et Caracalla, a quibus fiebant multa crudeliter, jugularentur, immittit in curiam suum Præfectum, et eodem paulo post irrumpit. An Plautianum Christiani secuti sunt, quorum interesse videbatur tyrannos illos tolli? Immo vero potius Severum jam decumbentem illi suo etiam oleo curarunt, sanaruntque, ut testis est* [4]Tertullianus *ad Scapulam, ubi et solennes Ecclesiæ preces pro Principibus commemorat. Tum addit*[5]*:* Ex disciplina patientiæ divinæ agere nos satis manifestum est, cum tanta hominum multitudo, pars pene major civitatis cujusque, in silentio et modestia agimus....Absit enim, ut indigne feramus ea nos pati quæ optamus: aut ultionem a nobis aliquam machinemur, quam a Deo expectamus. *Non dissimilia sunt, quæ repetit in Apologetico et digna sunt, quæ his quoque*

cap. xxxv.

[3] [cap. ii.]

[4] [cap. ii.]

[5] [cap. ii.]

temporibus inculcentur. Certe[6] *ait Christianos facile* paucis faculis vel una nocte *potuisse ulcisci, si aut fuissent aut esse voluissent* (*quod tamen jam a temporibus Neronis dicebantur*) *incendiarii.* Sed absit, *inquit,* ut aut igni humano vindicetur divina secta, aut doleat pati, in quo probatur. *Ait illis, si aperte agere et vim vi repellere voluissent, minime defuisse* vim numerorum et copiarum. Sed, *inquit,* apud istam disciplinam magis occidi licet, quam occidere. *Ait illos etiam sine armis potuisse vincere secedendo, et vacuum Romanis suum orbem reliquendo, si alio migrare voluissent. Tum enim defuissent quibus imperasset Rom. Imperator. Adeo pauci supererant, qui non essent Christiani. Sed nostros et cives manere voluisse, et ad hostes Romanorum transire noluisse significat, et interea tamen a Romanis appellatos esse non hostes modo, sed et principum et humani generis hostes. Ceterum tam injusta et aperta fuit hæc injuria, ut ipsos tandem hostes Christianorum puduerit tam et ingrate agere, et loqui impudenter.*

6 cap. xxxvii. *vel una nox pauculis faculis largiter ultiones posset operari, si malum malo dispungi penes nos liceret.*

XXIV. *Ergo Cæcilius, quantumvis esset impudens, erubuit iis aliquod perduellionis crimen affingere. Quidvis aliud objicere, carpere, mentiri, calumniari maluit. Sed neque Christianis ascribit* causam publicarum calamitatum: *quod tamen eo tempore alii adversarii odiose facere imprimis solebant. Tristissima sane, ætate Minucii, erat facies Romani imperii, horribilisque dilaceratio atque confusio. Quid dicam genus omne malorum tunc inundasse? orbemque et concussum et permixtum bellis, incendiis, inundationibus, terræ motu, civitatum ruinis, gentium regnorumque excidiis; denique confectum et fame et peste publica? Non committit tamen Cæcilius, ut* (*quod vulgus tunc clamitabat, et ante postque multis seculis jactatum est*) *calumniaretur, Christianis totum illud chaos acceptum ferri debere, eorumque sanguine esse expiandum. Ante Minucii ætatem* Tertullianus[1]: Si, *inquit,* Tiberis adscendit ad mœnia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si cœlum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim, Christianos ad leonem, *acclamatur. Non minus odiosa et immanis erat acclamatio tempore* Cypriani, *ut ex hujus ad Demetrianum epistola satis apparet. Eadem et tempore* Arnobii. *Nam et hic in suis adversus gentes libris laborat, ut hac*

1 *Apolog.* cap. xl.

publici odii et invidiæ flamma nostros liberet. Quid ipse postea Symmachus? *Nonne audet talem rursus cantilenam canere? Certe dignus erat, qui audiret quod aliquando Romæ post mortem Commodi Imp. acclamatum est*[2]*:* DELATORES AD LEONEM! *Sed nostri abs sanguine et ultionis cupiditate erant alieni.* Ambrosius *non passus est eum in crimine tam falso diutius exultare. Sed cum non multo post urbs ipsa capta atque direpta fuisset, non erubuerunt impii calumniatores talem postremo cladem religioni Christianæ ascribere: coactusque est rursus* Augustinus *tam tetræ maledicentiæ occurrere. Nam et propterea se suos* de civitate Dei *libros scripsisse fatetur. Agit ergo minus malitiose Cæcilius, qui aliorum exemplo talem facem in nostros non contorquet, neque eorum innocentiam tam indigne onerat. Imo vero iis, ut miseris, ut victis, ut servis, ipse tanquam magnis victoriis elatus, et summa felicitate cumulatus, superbe insultat: et hoc nomine tam illorum religionem fastidiose deprimit, quam suam gloriose attollit superstitionem. Sic enim profani homines ex fortuna et rerum successu pendent. Sic ipse* Cicero *pro*[3] *Flacco contumeliose exagitat Judæorum et gentem et sacra. Sed et Apionem Judæis servitutem, et ærumnas, tanquam falsæ religionis testimonia, confidenter objecisse, ex* Josepho *intelligimus. Mirum vero, post tempora quoque Constantini,* Julianum *Imp. nostros eadem ratione impetiisse, sicuti ex* Cyrilli *responsionibus cognoscimus. Quanto id magis potuit Cæcilius, qui Christianos, nisi afflictos, miseros, pauperes, nullos viderat? Itaque magno supercilio et fastu et contemptu eos despuit, et tanquam* καθάρματα καὶ περιψήματα *(utor*[4] *Apostoli verbis) proculcat. Sed Thrasonicos ejus spiritus altiori animo despicit Octavius, iisque sanctam quandam superbiam opponit, qua et in paupertate divites, et in servitute liberi, et in media denique morte victores essent nostri. Utut autem Cæcilius initio despumans, et intemperanter convicia profunderet, et minas efflaret, et ampullas horribiles projiceret, denique Christo insultaret: tamen veris victus paulo post cedit, neque arbitri, judicisque* Minucii *sententiam expectat, sed ultro illi occurrit. Admirabilis profecto conversio, præsertim tam repentina. Sed ea ostendit, sanabiles multos Romæ fuisse, qui videbantur alioqui depositi et deplorati:*

[2] [Lampridius *Vita Commodi*, cap. xviii.]

[3] [cap. xxviii.]

[4] [I. Epist. ad Cor. iv. 13.]

veritati vero errorem facile cedere. Ergo Cæcilius quadam veluti in jure cessione Octavio vindicanti addici poterat. Certe vinci dedique non recusat, et Octavianæ orationis quodam quasi fulmine perculsus, tanquam alter quidam Paulus, subito religionem, quam ignorans oppugnaverat, admonitus complectitur.

XXV. *Vellem autem* Minucius *nobis quoque exposuisset totam hujusce* μεταvοίας *historiam: ut et, qua lege, qua conditione, quibus sponsoribus, quo ritu, qua ceremonia, Cæcilius Romam reversus, in Ecclesiæ collegium et communionem cooptatus fuerit, intelligeremus. Nam et antiqui illius moris memoria expetenda est. Sed quod* Hieronymus *ad Chronica Eusebii, et* Augustinus *libro octavo*[1] *Confessionum narrant de duobus aliis ejusdem et conditionis et ordinis, et gentis, et ingenii viris,* Arnobio *et* Victorino; *cogitemus factum quoque esse de Cæcilio. Immo vero hic Cæcilius fatetur, sese, posteaquam intellexit, quid non sit vera religio, desiderare intelligentiam, cognitionem, institutionem religionis veræ: eam vero catechesin in diem sequentem fuisse rejectam* Minucius *scribit. Sed tanto magis doleo, alteram hanc scholam, quæ Minuciani libri optima et maxima pars fuisset, non editam esse: saltem non extare. Nam neque satis est, falsum refellere: verum etiam docere oportet: ut et quid non sit, et quid sit Deus aut religio, exponatur. Sed bene habet: quod hic desideramus sarcire potest* Augustini *liber de Catechizandis rudibus, qui et leges et formulam veteris catecheseos eleganter describit: et quomodo sit agendum cum doctis et literatis, etiam monet: neque dissimilem Minucii ætate credo catechesin fuisse: et his quoque temporibus non observari miror. Juvat autem, ut Cæcilium audivimus accusatorem et adversarium, nunc rebus conversis spectare catechumenum. Catechumeni tunc etiam appellabantur* auditores, *vel* audientes, *sicuti ex multis* Tertulliani[2] *locis apparet: erantque imprimis dociles, minimeque refractarii: quod et ipse* Lucianus *in Philopatr. indicat. Contentiosæ itaque disputationes nullæ cum iis erant: sed placidis monitionibus religio docebatur. Post catechesin, qui jam sua nomina Ecclesiæ dederant, ut baptismo initiarentur, appellati sunt* competentes: *eorumque rursus in ordine Cæcilium jam nostrum conspicere juvat. Post baptismum candidatus*

[1] cap. 2.

[2] [*de Pœnit.* c. vi.]

denique particeps fiebat τῶν μυστηρίων, a quibus antea procul abesse jubebatur. Neque sane de iis, aut promiscue disputare, aut coram profanis hominibus disserere, majores nostri solebant. Testis est Theodoretus *in Eranist. Dialogo* ii. *Nam illa religiosius atque adeo timidius tractanda esse sentiebant: et, quorsum alioqui res evaderet, longe prospiciebant. Itaque licet, cum accusarentur eorum συνάξεις, magna causa esse videretur, cur exponere deberent quicquid in iis ageretur, tamen de mysteriis nihil dicunt in foro, neque de iis cum adversariis aut contendunt aut litigant.*

[p. 159 *ed. Lips.*]

XXVI. *Atque hæc quidem hactenus breviter præmonere visum fuit, ut ad Octavii Minuciani lectionem viam veluti præmunirem, quæ et Christianarum antiquitatum memoriam nobis commendat, et ad eam renovandam nos excitet, qui et alioqui Romanas tanto studio persequimur. Atque utinam qui Romæ sunt docti homines, et nullum non etiam lapidem revolvunt, nullamque non in ipsis lapidibus literam observant, ut antiquæ Reipub. aliquid eruant, veteris quoque Ecclesiæ monumenta (quibus eadem urbs abundat) colligerent, pluresque, qui in ea et vixerunt, et sepulti sunt, Minucios excitarent! Satis jam, satis est novorum de religione libellorum. Veteribus potius in lucem revocandis hujus generis reliquiis operam demus: et simus aliquando doctæ antiquitatis potius quam inanis novitatis studiosi: majorumque nostrorum imagines et intueamur, et aliis, ne novi homines esse forte videamur, ostentemus. Neque tamen, etsi eadem eorum religio, animusque idem fuerit, eadem quoque semper facies fuit, idemve status. Non enim semper vexati abjectique jacuerunt, neque tam aut ingrati aut inepti fuerunt, ut optimo jure optimaque conditione esse recusarint, cum hoc iis licuit per Principes Christianos: neque tam fatui, ut hoc beneficio non uterentur: neque tam iniqui, ut si quid in suis Imperatoribus desiderarent, paganorum (ut loquimur) Tyrannorum loco eos haberent: neque tam morosi, ut publicæ tranquillitati nihil quicquam condonarent. Loquor de iis, qui non fuerunt degeneres. Sed liberæ Ecclesiæ splendorem non vidit* Minucius. *Servientis modo squallorem vidit. Nostrum vero est, utrumque statum et utriusque temporis conditionem recte considerare atque discernere: et hoc externæ*

(*ut ita loquar*) *formæ temporumque discrimen prudenter observare, ut et antiquitatis memoria, et majorum nostrorum exemplis recte utamur. Hic enim et prudentia magna et cautione maxima opus esse fateor: et, cum lex nova rogatur, fertur sæpe illud* VTI ROGAS, *sæpius istud* ANTIQUO, *nobis ut occurrat atque placeat, necesse est, resque postulat. Insculptum Romæ in veteri marmore esse dicitur,* CANDIDA . FULVO . NOBILIOR . AURO . FELIX . ANTIQUITAS. *Sed ejus præjudiciis infeliciter abuteremur, nisi liberum integrumque judicium in iis discernendis atque deligendis adhibeamus: ne vel confuse omnia misceamus, vel malitiose prætereamus, quæ imitari nos oportet; vel etiam quæ huic ætati non conveniunt, intemperanter urgeamus. Cum olim de testamentis ageretur, lex quædam civilis respondit,* retinendum esse morem fidelissimæ vetustatis, *Leg.* XVIII. *Cod.* de Testam. *Quumque de finibus et ordine gubernationis Ecclesiasticæ quæreretur, audita in Nicæno concilio est illa vox:* ΤΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΕΘΗ ΚΡΑΤΕΙΤΩ. *Nulla tamen fuit superstitio, quæ intemperanter atque impotenter urgeret, quod Reipublicæ salus repudiaret. Et ut sapientes Jurisconsulti, ubi de Magistratuum jure quæstio esset, graviter respondebant, non solum spectandum esse, quid Romæ factum sit, sed etiam quid fieri debeat, Lege* XII. de offic. Præs.: *sic etiam spectare debemus, non solum quid majores nostri fecerint, sed et quo tempore, et qua conditione, quave fini. Neque non meminisse quoque oportet, quod lex quædam monet, non tam exemplis quam legibus judicandum esse. Ergo facio perlubenter, ut et jurisprudentiam et historiam conjunctim aut colam, aut saltem colendam esse sæpe profitear: et quidem utramque in utroque genere, humanarum dico et divinarum rerum, sive civilium et Ecclesiasticarum. Nam et earum intelligentia atque memoria talem horum studiorum conjunctionem requirit: ut, si Tiberius Imperator recte judicavit militarem disciplinam* (*quod ait* [g]Suetonius), *ex antiquitate esse repetendam; nos multo magis sentiamus, rectiusque dicamus, civilem et Ecclesiasticam bona fide judicioque bono inde repeti debere. Interea vero, quia varie et periculose hic errari posse sentio, iterum iterumque obtestabor omnes bonos et cordatos, ut a factio-*

[g] Suetonius *Tiber.* cap. XIX: *Disciplinam acerrime exegit, animadversionum et ignominiarum generibus ex antiquitate repetitis.*

nibus aversi, et a studio partium alieni, primum vetustati tantum auctoritatis tribuant, quantum illi debetur: deinde placide cogitent atque observent, non solum quid veteres Christiani, tempore Minucii, facerent, cum aliud non possent: sed et quid optarent, et, ubi possent, faciendum esse statuerent: et vero quid tandem, cum liberi fuerunt, fecerint, ut et Rempublicam et Ecclesiam recte constituerent.

ANALYSIS LOGICA DIALOGI.

ANALYSIS LOGICA DIALOGI.

ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ,

CONSTAT

1° Antecedente, ubi excurrit in laudes Octavii Christiani, a quo Cæcilius, cultor Deorum, qui Minucium salutatum Romam venerat, inter ambulandum ad veram religionem fuit revocatus. C. I, II, 1—5.

2° Concomitantibus, ubi docet, quid in via acciderit, et quomodo Minucium Octavius admonuerit ne familiarem pateretur diutius errare. C. II, 5: III. *tot.*

3° Consequente, quod exponit occasionem, natam ex objurgatione modo dicta, disputandi de religione. C. IV.

ΑΓΩΝ.

Transitio, continet Cæcilii admonitionem ad M. Minucium præsidem de officii partibus rite tuendis. C. V, 1.

THESIS.

I.

FIERI NON POTEST UT CHRISTIANI CERTI ALIQUID AFFERANT IN INTRODUCENDA RELIGIONE NOVA:

i. Non in articulo de Deo,
quod probatur,
a) *a conditione veritatis, quæ est incerta,* v. 2, 3.
b) *a conditione subjecti ad investigandam eam veritatem minus apti,* v. 4; deest enim
1° *medium causativum;* doctrina et eruditio.
2° *medium ordinis;* opes et facultates;
c) *ab inutili.*
Sufficit enim ad vitam beatam cognitio sui ipsius, v. 5.
d) *a naturali statu hominis,*
qui humilis et in terram projectus est, *Ib.* 6.

ii. *Nec in articulo de creatione,*
quam perperam Deo attribuunt Christiani, quia omnia fortuito et casu quodam ita conflata sunt, ut nunc cernuntur, v. 7—9.

iii. *Neque in articulo de Providentia,*
a) quia, quæ semel cœpta sunt, lege necessitatis continuantur; adeoque omnia commodius derivari ex mechanica corporum structura possunt, v. 10.

b) Ob defectum ordinis, qui est
1° *in rebus naturalibus,* v. 11, 14.
2° *in rebus moralibus,* v. 12, 13.

ANTITHESIS.

I.

VIA PERVENIENDI AD CERTITUDINEM EST IN PROCLIVI, QUIA

i. *Incertitudo illa non est in veritate, sed in judiciis hominum veritatem indagantium, et oritur ex obscuritate non objectiva, sed subjectiva,* XVI. 1—6;

b) *externa hominum conditio nihil officit veritati,* XVI. 6—9.

1° *quasdam veritates etiam absque eruditione comparare nobis possumus.* § 6, 9.

2° *divitiæ magis avocant a sapientia, quam paupertas.* § 7, 8.

c) *Concedo cognitionem sui ipsius esse salutarem, sed ea sine universitatis exploratione minus procedit,* XVII. 1, 2.

d) *Naturalis hominis status, qui erectus est, jubet potius cœlum aspicere.* § 3.

ii. *Deus est creator hujus Universi,*
quod patet ex ordine rerum ad certum finem institutum, qui sane non potest casus esse fortuiti, XVII. 4—9.

iii. Datur providentia: quod probatur

a) *ex omnimoda perfectione,* XVII. 10 sqq. XVIII. 1, 2; quæ conspicitur

1° In Universo, e. g.

α) *in quatuor anni temporibus.*

β) *in aquis.*

γ) *in terra continente.*

δ) *in animantibus.*

ε) *in homine.*

ζ) *in nascendi ratione.*

2° In singulis Universi partibus, § 3.

α) *Britannia.*

β) *Ægypto.*

γ) *Mesopotamia.*

δ) *Oriente.*

b) *ex analogia domus bene aedificatae,* XVIII. 4.

II.

IN RELIGIONE A MAJORIBUS TRADITA EST PERMANENDUM;

i. Quia certa,
   a) *ob incertum veritatis*, quod ex præmissis patet, VI. 1.
   b) *ob antiquitatem:* habemus enim religiones per traditionem acceptas, § 1;
   c) *ob fidem majoribus debitam:* quo quis enim deorum sæculo propior accedit, eo major illi fides est habenda, § 1, 2.

Digressio Prima.

De unitate Dei,
quæ probatur:

1° *Inductione Socratica,* exemplis petitis:
a) *ab imperiis terrenis,* XVIII. 5, 6;
b) *ab animalibus sociabilibus,* Ib. 7;
2° *ab æternitate Dei,* Ib.;
3° *ab ejus omnipotentia,* Ib.;
4° *a ceteris perfectionibus,* quæ uni, non pluribus competunt, *Ib.* 8, 9.
5° *a defectu nominis,* Ib. 10;
6° *a testimonio tum vulgi,* § 11, 12; *tum poetarum,* XIX. 1, 2, 3; *tum etiam philosophorum,* Ib. 4—18.

II.

Stultum est, in religione falsa illa quidem, sed a majoribus tradita, velle permanere;

i. Quod probatur,
a) *negando omnia esse incerta,* providentia probata, XX. 1, 2.
b) *distinguendo inter antiquitatem fabulosam, et veritatis amantem.* Hæc, non illa, est sectanda, § 2.
c) *a fide majorum dubia,* § 3, 4.

Digressio Secunda.

Homines fuisse, quos pro diis coluerunt Gentes.
Hoc probatur:

1° *Ostendendo modum, quo factum illud sit, deorum origine altius ex historiis repetita,* XX. 5, 6;
2° *Ex testimoniis philosophorum et historicorum,* XXI. 1—5. XXII. 8 seqq.
3° *Ex affectionibus humanis,* XXI. 5 *tot.*
4° *Ex testimoniis poetarum,* XXII. 1—8.
5° *Ex ipsorum nativitate et morte,* XXIII. 1—7.

Digressio Tertia.

De Idolorum Origine et Vanitate.

1° *Origo,* XXIII. 7 seqq.
2° *Vanitas,* XXIV. seqq.

ii. Quia utilis. *Romani enim magnitudinem imperii sui diis debuerunt;*

a) Quod Romani fuerint religiosi, hoc patet ex venerandis

1° *diis vernaculis,* VI. 4.

2° *diis peregrinis,* Ib. 2, 5.

3° *instituendis castis virginibus et nominibus sacerdotum,* Ib. 3.

b) Quod hæc religio imperium conciliaverit illis, patet:

1° *ex institutione,* quia sacra Romana optimo consilio sunt instituta, VII. 1—5.

α) *ad remunerandam divinam indulgentiam,* Ib. 2, 3.

β) *ab avertendam iram,* Ib. 4.

2° *ex eventu,* quia auguria pœnitenter omissa et observata feliciter, *Ib.* 5, 6.

3° *ex oraculis et vaticiniis,* non antiquissimorum modo temporum, sed recentiorum etiam, *Ib.* 7—9.

ii. *Falsissimum est Romanos imperium suum diis debuisse,* XXV. 1.

a) Quia Romani non tam religiosi, quam impune sacrilegi.

Hoc probatur demonstratione indirecta, per rationem disjunctivam.

Si a diis Romani regna accepta possederunt, ea habuerunt,

1° *vel a diis peregrinis,*

2° *vel a diis vernaculis,*

3° *vel ob cultum religiosiorem.* Atqui,

Non a diis peregrinis, qui antiquos sui cultores potius tuiti essent, si quicquam valerent, c. XXV. 7, 10.

nec a diis vernaculis, qui morbi potius sunt et propudia, quam dii, § 8, 9.

neque ob cultum castiorem, siquidem virginibus non castitas tutior, sed impudicitia felicior fuit, § 11, 12.

Ergo *nullo modo diis imperium suum Romani debent, sed est audaciæ præda,* § 2—5.

b) Imperia possederunt gentes exteræ, etiam absque superstitione Romana, § 13.

2° *auguria multoties fefellerunt,* adeoque committitur fallacia non causæ ut causæ, XXVI. 1—3.

3° *oracula sæpius mentita sunt,* adeoque eventus non industriæ, sed casui attribuendus, *Ib.* 4, 5.

Digressio Quarta.

De existentia et molitionibus dæmonum:

ubi describitur:

1° *Existentia,* XXVI. 7.

a) descriptione, 6, 7.

b) testimoniis, 7 seq.

2° *molitiones,* XXVII, *tot.*

Digressio Quinta.

De perversa in Christianos quæstione:

quæ dæmoniis instigantibus perversa est, quia fit:

1° *de incognitis et inexploratis,* XXVIII. 1—3.

2° *quia non admittit defensionem,* Ib. 4.

3° *quia cogit non ad confitendum, sed negandum,* Ib. 4.

III.

Christiana religio non est utilis,

1° Ob mores Christianorum deterrimos. *Si enim esset utilis primam utique utilitatem exerceret in emendandis moribus,* VII.

Jam vero sunt,

a) *de ultima plebe,* VII. 3, 4.

b) *factiosi,* Ib. 4.

c) *in publicum muti,* Ib. 4.

d) *eorum multitudo in dies crescit instar lolii,* IX. 1.

e) *occultis se signis noscunt,* Ib. 2.

f) *incestum ob fratris appellationem committunt,* Ib. 2, 3.

2° Ob sacra multo deteriora, nam

a) *colunt caput asini,* IX. 4.

b) *genitalia sacerdotis sui adorant,* Ib. 4.

c) *ad hominem e cruce pendentem supplicant,* Ib. 5.

d) *initiantur cæde infantis,* Ib. 6, 7.

e) *convivia incesta celebrant,* Ib. 8, 9.

f) *sacra sua occultant,* X. 1, 2.

3° Ob alia plura opinionum portenta;

A. In articulo de Deo; *colunt enim*

a) *deum solitarium, eundemque imbecillum; quod exemplo Judæorum patet,* X. 3, 4.

b) *deum invisibilem, quod absurdum,* Ib. 5.

c) *deum omniscium, quod impium,* Ib. 5, 6.

B. De fine mundi:

Statuunt mundum interiturum aliquando: quæ opinio repugnat legi naturæ semel constitutæ atque æternæ, X. 7.

C. De resurrectione mortuorum,

quam impugnat argumentis,

III.

1° Qui de Christianorum sceleribus circumferuntur sermones, partim aperte sunt falsi et a malevolis quibusdam instigatione dæmonum disseminati; partim quidem veri, sed sinistra interpretatione, inspersisque mendaciis depravati.

a) *negat hoc ex eo sequi quod honores et purpuras gentium recusarent,* XXXI. 7.

b) *negat, docendo Christianos congregatos eadem quiete agere, qua et singuli,* Ib. 7.

c) *concedit, sed hoc ideo fieri monet, quod gentes eos publice audire erubescerent,* Ib. 7.

d) *concedit, sed hoc laudis, non criminis esse docet,* Ib. 8.

e) *concedit, sed crimen removet, eo quod non notaculo corporis, sed innocentiæ signo se dignoscerent,* Ib. 9.

f) *negat, et appellationis fraternæ innocentiam defendit,* Ib. 10.

2° Plurima quæ de sacris nostris spargitis, sunt falsa; non pauca depravata;

a) *inficiatur et retorquet,* XXVIII. 8—10.

b) *negat, et convicium remittit,* XXVIII. 11, 12; XXIX. 1.

c) *negat et retorquet,* Ib. 2—8.

d) *negat et retorquet,* XXX. *tot.*

e) *negat et retorquet,* XXXI. 1—7.

f) *concedit, sed jure fieri monet,* XXX. 1—3.

3° Christianorum doctrina est sanissima: hinc

A. In articulo de Deo,

a) *distinguendum esse monet inter Judæos veteres legique divinæ obedientes, et recentiores immorigeros,* XXXIII. 3—6.

b) *invisibilitatem Dei jure adstrui docet* XXXII. 4—6.

c) *omniscientiam Dei firmissimis niti argumentis adserit,* XXXII. 7—9; XXXIII. 1, 2.

B. Doctrina de fine mundi *nec legi naturæ nec philosophorum sententiis repugnat,* XXXIV. 1—5.

C. Ad objecta de mortuorum resurrectione respondetur.

1° κατ' ἄνθρωπον, quia ad resurrectionem stabiliendam, multa alia absurda simul sunt assumenda; e. g.

a) *ignium sepulturam esse rejiciendam*, ne scilicet corpus resuscitandum periret, XI. 3.

b) *pœnas et remunerationes post mortem statuere, quia error errorem facile pariat*, Ib. 4, 5.

c) *ipsos Christianos pœnis esse dignos, cum sint mali*, Ib. 5.

d) *deum esse injustum, qui sortem in hominibus puniat, cum omnia subjecta sint fato*, Ib. 5, 6.

2° κατ' ἀλήθειαν, ostendendo impossibilitatem.

a) *dilemmate*, Ib. 7.

b) *defectu exempli*, Ib. 8, 9.

3° Ob mala plurima, quibus cultores suos exponit:

Cultus enim dei unius non ducit ad felicitatem,

a) *quia ejus cultores sunt pauperes*, XII. 1, 2.

b) *quia infirmi ac calamitosi*, Ib. 3.

c) *tormentis aliorum expositi*, Ib. 4.

d) *a deo relicti*, Ib. 4.

e) *alii sine deo felices sunt*, Ib. 5.

f) *honestis voluptatibus avocat*, 5, ut sunt,

1° *pompæ et spectacula;*

2° *præcerpti cibi et potus delibati*, 5.

g) *rerum licitarum usum, qualis florum est, damnat*, 6.

h) *defunctos adeo debito honore defraudat, dum coronari eos prohibet*, 6.

i) *nec damnum vitæ præsentis futuræ felicitate pensat*, 6.

IV.

Summa totius disputationis.

1° A rerum divinarum exploratione abstinendum,

a) *quia veritas est supra nos*, XII. 7.

a) *Ignium sepultura non facilitandæ resurrectionis causa rejicitur, sed ut mos veterum humandi corpora frequentetur,* XXXIV. 11—13.

b) *pœnas post mortem etiam gentes statuunt, sed easdem perhorrescunt,* XXXIV. 14; XXXV. 1—5.

c) *Christiani ethnicis tamen multo sunt meliores,* Ib. 5—7.

d) *concedit fatum esse, sed liberum, ob omniscientiam Dei, qua futura præsciat,* XXXVI. 1—3.

2° Possibilitas resurrectionis adstruitur

a) *tum sententiis philosophorum, tum argumentis ex ratione petitis,* XXXIV. 5—10.

b) *æque absurdum est exemplum hominis, qui ex mortuis resurrexerit, videre velle, quam esset postulare ut sol sub noctem oriatur, et arbores in hieme vernent. Exempla resurgentium apparebunt utique, sed suo tempore,* Ib. 12, 13.

3° Inter Christianos et ethnicos de eo quod bonum malumve est, non convenit.

a) *paupertas hæc non infamiæ, sed gloriæ est; non coacta, sed voluntaria,* XXXVI. 4—8.

b) *fortitudo infirmitatibus roboratur, virtus calamitatibus,* § 8.

c) *gloriamur suppliciis affecti, freti auxilio Dei,* XXXVII. 1—6.

d) *non derelinquimur a Deo, sed tentamur,* § 9.

e) *felicitas sine Deo non potest esse solida,* § 6—11.

f) *voluptates quibus abstinemus, non sunt honestæ, sed pravæ et illicitæ,* 11; quod probatur

1° *de pompis et spectaculis,* § 12, 13;

2° *sacrificiorum reliquiis, quæ dæmoniis libantur,* XXXVIII. 1, 2.

g) *florum non usus, sed abusus damnatur,* § 3, 4.

h) *abhorret a ratione mos coronandi mortuos,* § 5.

i) *Christiani non tranquille solum vivunt, sed beati etiam sunt spe futuræ felicitatis,* § 6.

IV.

1° A rerum divinarum investigatione nemo absterreri debet, quia

a) *veritas non est supra, sed penes nos,* Ib. 8.

b) *ob inertiam et ruditatem eorum qui huic studio incumbunt,* XII. 7.

c) *ab exemplo Socratis,* XIII. 1, 2, *Arcesilæ, Carneadis, Academicorum,* § 3, *et Simonidis Melici,* 4, 5.

2° Dubia ergo quæ sunt, merito relinquenda, *Ib.* 6.

V.

EPILOGUS

continet

1° Provocationem Cæcilii ad Octavium, *qua invitatur ad respondendum,* XIV. 1.

2° Orationem Minucii ad Cæcilium, *qua ipsum non prius exultandum esse monet, quam utrimque fuerit peroratum,* Ib. 2—8.

3° Responsionem Cæcilii, *qua Minucium taxat, quod se oratione gravissima interpellaverit,* XV. § 1.

b) *nos non habitu sapientiam, sed mente præferimus,* XXXVIII. 8.

c) *philosophorum exempla nihil nos movent,* § 7.

2° Non dubia amplius sunt quæ dubia quondam fuerunt, cum veritas divinitatis jam maturuit.

V.

EPILOGUS

ostendit,

1° quos stimulos oratio Octavii in animis audientium reliquerit, XXXIX, *tot.*;

2° confessionem Cæcilii, qua victum se esse fatetur, XL. 1, 2.

3° dilationem quæstionis de rebus ad quas institutio perfectior requirebatur, *Ib.* 3.

4° gratulationem Minucii conjunctam cum gratiarum actione ad Octavium XLI. 1, 2.

5° lætum omnium discessum, *Ib.* 3.

MARCI MINUCII FELICIS

OCTAVIUS.

MARCI MINUCII FELICIS
OCTAVIUS.

CAP. I.

INTRODUCTION, CHH. I.—IV. On reviewing the whole period of my delightful and close intimacy with Octavius, my thoughts dwelt particularly on a dialogue which he once held with Cæcilius, which was the means of converting his friend from heathenism to Christianity.

COGITANTI mihi, et cum animo meo Octavi boni et fidelissimi contubernalis memoriam recensenti, tanta dulcedo et adfectio hominis inhæsit, ut ipse quodammodo mihi viderer in præterita redire[1], non ea quæ jam transacta et decursa
2 sunt recordatione revocare. Ita ejus contemplatio, quantum subtracta est oculis, tantum pectori meo
3 ac pæne intimis sensibus implicata est. Nec immerito discedens[2] vir eximius et sanctus[3] immensum sui desiderium nobis reliquit: utpote quum et

Ch. I. The opening sentence reminds us of Cicero's manner in commencing his philosophical treatises: compare with this the commencement of the first Book *de Oratore:* Cogitanti mihi sæpenumero et memoriâ vetera repetenti etc. Our author indeed throughout the dialogue imitates Cicero's style and language so closely, that he is entitled to the name of the Christian Cicero, as much as Lactantius. See Gronovius' *Introductory Remarks.*

[1] *ipse ... in præterita redire,* 'I fancied myself in a manner really carried back into bye-gone times, rather than musing upon things past and over.'

[2] *nec immerito discedens: Nec immerito* means "and no wonder that," in which sense it is used by our author several times; see chh. v, xxx, xxxi, xxxv. It is not necessary to take *discedens* in the questionable sense of "departing out of this world," for which decedens would have been the usual expression, but it is better to refer it to the separation of Octavius from his friend at Rome. Nor again does it appear from the dialogue, as some suppose, that it was composed by Minucius after the death of Octavius: the manner in which he expresses his feeling seems to imply the "absence," rather than the death of a friend.

[3] *vir eximius et sanctus,* "a Christian in life as well as profession." The word sanctus in the primitive writers, like ἅγιος in many places of the New Testament, as 1 Cor. i. 12; vi.1, is but another word for "Christian," in opposition not to unsound Christians but to heathens. See Bingham, *Antiq. of the Christian Church,* Ch. I. § 1.

CAP. I. ipse tanto nostri semper amore flagraverit, ut et in ludicris et seriis pari mecum voluntate [4]concineret, eadem vellet vel nollet. Crederes unam mentem in duobus fuisse divisam: [5]sic solus in amoribus conscius ipse, socius in erroribus: et quum, dis- 4
cussa caligine, de tenebrarum profundo in [6]lucem sapientiæ et veritatis emergerem, non respuit comitem, sed, quod est gloriosius, præcucurrit. Itaque quum per universam convictus nostri et fa- 5
miliaritatis ætatem mea cogitatio volveretur, in illo præcipue sermone ejus mentis meæ resedit intentio, quo Cæcilium superstitiosis vanitatibus etiam nunc[7] inhærentem disputatione gravissima ad veram religionem reformavit.

[4] *concineret, eadem vellet vel nollet,* "that he chimed in with me, he liked and disliked as I did:" others read *eadem velle vel nolle,* in which case the rendering will be, "that he sang in one key (Cf. Shakespere, *Midsummer-Night's Dream,* Act II. Sc. iii., and Act III. Sc. ii.) with me so as to have the same likings and dislikings," according to the explanation given by Rigaltius: "Ait Minucius Octavium suum pari secum voluntate concinere solitum; *Volo* vel *Nolo.*" Compare Salust. *Catil.* c. 20: Idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. "You would imagine," continues Minucius, "that there was but one soul between us both." Such expressions, serving to mark the closest union in friendship, are not unfrequent in ancient authors: compare Aristotle's definition of a friend ap. *Diogen. Laert.* Lib. v. segm. 20; μία ψυχὴ δύσι σώμασιν ἐνοικοῦσα: Ovid. *Tr.* IV. iv. 72, where speaking of Pylades and Orestes, he says:
Qui duo corporibus, mentibus unus erant.

[5] *Sic solus in amoribus conscius ipse, socius in erroribus.* There is some difficulty in determining the sense of the former words. *Lindner* places the words *conscius ipse* between commas; and interprets thus: Sic is, qui mihi solus erat in amoribus, cujus rei testis est ipse locupletissimus, socius etiam fuit in erroribus: (Compare Cicero *ad Div.* VII. 32. est mihi, ut scis, in amoribus): in his 2d edition, however, he remarks "sed quoniam sic durior est oratio, per me licet vel *conscius ipse* plane deleas, vel *conscius ipsi* legas," referring to a passage in Cicero, *ad Attic.* I. 18, qui mihi et in publica re socius et esse soles in privatis omnibus conscius. Either of these interpretations seems better than that of *Gronovius,* and M. l'Abbé *Fleury,* viz.: "a confidant in my love-intrigues." The construction

CAP. II.

Nam negotii, et visendi mei gratia Romam contenderat[1], relicta domo, conjuge, liberis, et, quod est in liberis amabilius, adhuc annis innocentibus, et adhuc dimidiata verba tentantibus, loquelam, ipso offensantis linguæ fragmine, dulcio-
2 rem. Quo in adventu ejus non possum exprimere sermonibus, quanto quamque impatienti gaudio exultaverim: quum augeret maxime lætitiam meam
3 amicissimi hominis inopinata præsentia. Igitur post unum et alterum diem, quum jam et aviditatem desiderii frequens [2]assiduitatis usus implesset; et quæ per absentiam mutuam de nobis nesciebamus, relatione alterna comperissemus; placuit Ostiam petere[3] amœnissimam civitatem, quod esset corpori

The dialogue took place on occasion of Octavius' visit to me at Rome, when we went on an excursion to the Baths of *Ostia*, for the benefit of my health, in the vintage vacation. An act of homage paid by Cæcilius to a statue of *Serapis* on our way to the beach, provoked an indignant remark from Octavius against myself, for not interfering to prevent such superstitious ignorance in my friend. II.—III. § 1.

of the passage I take to be *sic solus in amoribus conscius* (mihi erat) *ipse;* whether its meaning be "in such a manner was he my only darling friend and confidant:" or "in such a manner was he in his affections of one mind with myself." Observe the paronomasia in *conscius, socius* and *amoribus, erroribus.*

[6] *lucem sapientiæ et veritatis,* hoc est, lucem veræ sapientiæ, nempe Christianæ; "the light of Christianity" in opposition to the darkness of heathendom. Similarly Tertullian speaks of Christian women as *feminas sapientiam consecutas:* of Socrates, that he *sapere ad veritatem:* so φιλοσοφία was applied to the Christian religion by the apologists, as being the only true philosophy: (see Tatian, *Or. ad Gr.* § 31, Justin M. *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 8: cfr. Suicer. *Thes. Eccles.* s. v.)

[7] *etiam nunc,* i. q. jam tum, "still," "at the time of the conference."

Ch. II. [1] *contenderat,* sc. Octavius. *Innocentibus* may be taken as the epithet either of *annis* or of *liberis, annis* being equivalent to per or propter annos. Translate: "even while they were in the season of innocence, just attempting to utter half words, a language peculiarly sweet from its very lisp and imperfection." The expression *linguæ fragmine* may be compared with that of Lucretius, v. 230;

Nutricis blanda atque infracta loquela.

[2] *assiduitatis usus,* 'the enjoyment of his continued presence.' The word *assiduitas* occurs in the same sense in Cicero *pro Deiotaro* c. ult., and A. Gellius, *N. A.* XIII. 12.

[3] *placuit Ostiam petere.* Ostia seems to have been a favourite holiday retreat with the Romans. Hence Juvenal, *Sat.* xi. 49;

Baias et ad Ostia currunt.

See Baldvin. *Dissert.* § iv. p. 7. It ac-

CAP. II. meo [4]siccandis humoribus de marinis lavacris blanda et apposita curatio; sane et [5]ad vindemiam feriæ 4 judiciariam curam relaxaverant: nam id temporis, post æstivam diem, in temperiem semet autumnitas dirigebat. Itaque quum diluculo ad mare [6]inambu- 5 lando litore pergeremus, ut et aura adspirans leniter membra vegetaret, et cum eximia voluptate molli vestigio[7] cedens arena subsideret, Cæcilius, simulacro Serapidis denotato, ut vulgus superstitiosus solet, [8]manum ori admovens osculum labiis impressit.

quires additional interest from the circumstance of Augustin having held there his famous discourse with his mother Monica on the subject of Religion; see the account given by him in his *Confessiones* Lib. IX. ch. 10. foll.

[4] *siccandis humoribus ... curatio. Blanda* erat curatio ob autumnitatis temperiem; *apposita* ob ferias vindemiales. LINDNER. *Siccandis humoribus* is equivalent to ad siccandos humores. On the peculiar use of *de* in *de marinis lavacris*, consult the Index, *s. v.*

[5] *ad vindemiam feriæ.* This expression may stand for "feriæ vindemiales," (see the Index *s.v. ad*) or we may construe the passage, *feriæ curam relaxaverant ad vindemiam*, sc. fruendam. The "vintage vacation," lasted from Aug. 22, to Oct. 15: Baldvin. *Dissert.* § IV. p. 6.

[6] *inambulando litore*] ambulando in litore, i. e. the bank of the river Tiber.

[7] *molli vestigio.* Dicere voluit arenam, etiam leviter ab euntibus impressam, cessisse. HEUMANN. In the next clause *denotato* is equivalent to "animadverso." Concerning the worship of Serapis see the Index *s. v.* and Baldvin. *Dissert.* p. 9. § 7.

[8] *manum ori admovens.* It was a common and very old custom of expressing homage to the gods either to kiss their idol, or to kiss their hand to it; probably of Oriental descent. Compare Job, c. XXXI. v. 27, with 1 Kings, XIX. 18; Hosea, XIII. 2. That it was a prevalent mode of performing homage to the gods among the Greeks and Romans, may be seen from the subjoined passages; Lucian *de Saltat.* § 17: ὅπου καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἐπειδὰν προσεύχωνται τὸν Ἥλιον, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τὴν χεῖρα κύσαντες ἡγούμεθα ἐντελῆ ἡμῶν εἶναι τὴν εὐχήν: Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. XXVIII. cap. 2, *in adorando dextram ad osculum referimus:* Tacit. *Hist.* IV. 28: Apuleius, *Metam.* Lib. IV. c. 28, p. 284. *ed. Hildebrand:* Cicero *in Verr.* Act. II. iv. 43, where the statue of Hercules is said to have, *mentum paulo attritius quod in precibus ...osculari solent.* See also a note of Salmasius in the *Script. Hist. August.* p. 440; Brisson. ii. *de Form.* p. 840.

CAP. III.

Upon reaching the open beach, we amused ourselves with strolling about, and listening to OCTAVIUS' stories: in the course of our wanderings he and I were much diverted with the sight of a boys' game:

Tunc Octavius ait: Non boni viri est, Marce frater, hominem domi forisque lateri tuo inhærentem, sic in [1]hac imperitiæ vulgaris cæcitate deserere, ut tam luculento die [2]in lapides eum patiaris impingere, effigiatos sane et unctos et coronatos: quum scias hujus erroris non minorem ad
2 te quam ad ipsum infamiam redundare. [3]Cum hoc sermone ejus [4]medium spatium civitatis emensi, jam liberum litus tenebamus. Ibi arenas extimas, velut sterneret ambulacro, perfundens lenis unda

Ch. III. [1] [*hâc*, i. q. hujus temporis. JAC. GR.]

[2] *in lapides effigiatos sane et unctos*, "upon mere blocks of stones, for all that they are carved into figures and anointed." The practice of anointing stones with oil was very common in different ages and countries. It was probably an Oriental rite. We find that Jacob, in compliance, as it is likely, with the received custom, "set up the stone on which he had slept for a pillar at Bethel, and poured oil upon the top of it;" *Gen.* xxviii. 18: xxxv. 14. From this stone, probably, was derived the word Βαιτύλοι or Βαιτυλία, to signify other stones similarly consecrated in memory of Jacob's stone: v. SELDEN, *de Diis Syris Syntagma*, xi. c. 15. The Jews were accustomed to pay superstitious respect to such stones, as we infer from Moses having forbidden their erection, *Lev.* xxvi. 1; and from the allusion in *Isaiah*, lvii. 6; and so were the Greeks, as we learn from Pausanias in his *Achaica*, Lib. VI. c. 3, ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι τιμὰς θεῶν, i. e. "unwrought stones, instead of images, had divine honours paid them." Cf. Tenison *of Idolatry*, ch. iv. p. 48. In later times the practice gave rise to a proverb concerning a superstitious man, πάντα λίθον λιπαρὸν προσκυνεῖ, as Clemens Alexandr. informs us, *Strom.* L. vii. p. 843. *ed. Potter;* and Theophrastus marks as one strong feature in his portrait of the δεισιδαίμων, the practice τῶν λιπαρῶν λίθων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις παρίων ἐκ τῆς ληκύθου ἔλαιον καταχεῖν, i. e. "of pouring oil out of his vial on the uncti lapides in the high ways, as he passes by them." So ARNOBIUS, *adv. Nat.* lib. I. ch. 39. p. 22, giving an account of his own life before his conversion, tells us that, "si quando conspexeram lubricatum lapidem et ex olivi unguine sordidatum tanquam inesset vis praesens, adulabar, affabar, et beneficia poscebam nihil sentiente de trunco." The heathen custom of adorning their statues with garlands is too well known to need illustration.

[3] *Cum hoc sermone ejus.* For the use of *cum*, comp. below ch. iv. § 5; *cum dicto ejus assedimus:* and see Hand, *Tursellin.* ii. p. 130.

[4] *medium spatium civitatis*, "the distance between Ostia and the sea."

CAP. III.

not so CÆCILIUS, who remained an uninterested spectator, and upon my enquiry into cause of his uneasiness, confessed himself piqued at OCTAVIUS' remark, and concluded with a proposal to argue the subject philosophically with him. I was chosen to moderate between them. III, 2.–IV.

[5]tendebat; et ut semper mare etiam positis flatibus inquietum est, etsi non canis spumosisque fluctibus exibat ad terram, [6]tamen crispis torosisque. Ibidem 3 erroribus delectati perquam sumus, quum in ipso æquoris limine plantas tingeremus, quod vicissim nunc adpulsum nostris pedibus [7]adluderet fluctus, nunc relabens ac vestigia retrahens in sese resorberet. Sensim itaque tranquilleque progressi, oram 4 curvi molliter litoris, iter fabulis fallentibus, [8]legebamus. Hæ fabulæ erant Octavii disserentis de na- 5 vigatione narratio. [9]Sed ubi eundi spatium satis justum cum sermone consumpsimus, eandem emensi

[5] *tendebat* is for extendebat: Translate: "was spreading the outermost sands, just as if it were levelling them for an artificial walk."

[6] *tamen crispis torosisque*, sc. exibat ad terram, "yet with curled and heaving waves." *Torosus* properly means "full of *tori*;" and the proper meaning of *torus* is, any full and swelling protuberance like "the convexity of a muscle," Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 9; "of an overcharged vein," Celsus, vii. 18; "the twist or strand of a rope," v. Cato, §. 135; Columella, xi. 3; "the swelling protuberance in the circle of a festoon (*sertum*), or of a chaplet (*corona*);" Cic. *Orat.* c. vi: (v. A. Rich's *Illustr. Companion to the Dictionary;* Ernest. *Ind. Lat. s. v.*); of "a knoll" on the bank of a river, Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 674: here it is used of the "swelling undulation of a wave."

[7] *adluderet*. Comp. Catull. *Epithal.* vv. 66, 67;

Omnia quæ toto delapsa e corpore passim
Ipsius ante pedes fluctus salis adludebant:

where it will be readily seen that *adludere* is used as a transitive verb, though Davies has hastily altered the reading in Minucius, on the strength of its being used intransitively in this very passage.

[8] *oram legebamus*, "we coasted along the margin of the gently bending shore, beguiling the way all the while with Octavius' stories." V. Index s. v. *molliter*.

[9] *Sed ubi eundi spatium satis justum consumpsimus*. The word justus, though formed from jus, has a wider acceptation, being used to signify any thing, which is "complete," or "fit in its kind," and "not excessive." Thus Suetonius has the expression "justa statura," meaning "an ordinary, mean stature:" Ovid, "justus orbis annuli," meaning "a ring that *fits* the finger;" The Greeks used δίκαιος in a corresponding sense: thus δικαία ἔσθης is said of "a robe that is not too large or too small for the body:" δικαία ῥῖς, of a "well-proportioned nose." Tertullian employs the sin-

6 viam rursus versis vestigiis terebamus. Et quum ad id loci ventum est, ubi subductæ naviculæ, substratis roboribus, [10]a terrena labe suspensæ quiescebant, pueros videmus certatim gestientes testarum in 7 mare jaculationibus ludere. Is lusus est: testam teretem, jactatione fluctuum levigatam, legere de litore: eam testam plano situ digitis comprehensam, inclinem ipsum, atque humilem, quantum potest, super undas inrotare: ut illud jaculum vel dorsum maris raderet, enataret, dum leni impetu labitur: vel summis fluctibus tonsis emicaret, emer- 8 geret, dum assiduo saltu sublevatur. Is se in CAP. III.

gular expression "quadrata justitia vestis," *de Pallio*, c. 1. Translate: "But after we had sauntered a mo- "derate distance (i.e. far enough for "pleasure without fatigue), we began "to retrace our steps; and being got "to the dock where the smaller vessels "were drawn up ashore and laid on a "frame of oak, to prevent their being "rotted by contact with the ground, "we espy a parcel of boys, eagerly "engaged in the game of throwing "shells into the sea." "The game loses much of the dignity conferred on it," says Lord Hailes, "when it is expressed under the vulgar appellation of *Duck* and *Drake*." It was called by the Greeks ἐποστρακισμός. (See the Index *s. v. testa*). In the description of the game, which follows: *plano situ comprehensam* means, "held in a horizontal position;" *inclinem ipsum atque humilem etc.*, "in a stooping attitude himself, to squir the shell along the surface of the water, as far as he can, so as to make the missile either just skim the sea's back, and swim along; or else shaving the tips of the waves, to glance and jump up; according as it moved gently onward, or kept itself up in the air by a succession of leaps." Before *enataret*, I have, without MS. authority, omitted *vel*, in place of which Davies proposed to read nec: for *raderet*, *enataret* appear to be as much synonymous as *emicaret*, *emergeret*. There is a tendency in our author, as in later writers, particularly those of the African School, to accumulate synonyms, with no connecting particle; e. g. Ch. i. § 3 *concineret—vellet;* Ch. iv. § 1 *tacens, anxius, segregatus;* Ch. v. § 4 *indolescendum, ingravescendum; ib.* § 5 *suspensa, sublata; ib.* § 7 *coalita, digesta, formata; ib.* § 9 *nascitur, inspiratur, attollitur;* Ch. xi. § 2 *mortuis, exstinctis:* see also Chh. xvi, xvii, which abound with similar asyndeta.

[10] *a terrena labe suspensæ: labem* dicit uliginem cœnosam, qua putrescerent carinæ diutino situ. RIGALT.

CAP. III. pueris victorem ferebat, cujus testa et procurreret longius et frequentius exsiliret.

CAP. IV. Igitur quum omnes hac spectaculi voluptate caperemur, Cæcilius [1]nihil intendere, neque de contentione ridere, sed tacens, anxius, segregatus, [2]dolere nescio quid vultu fatebatur. Cui ego: 2 Quid hoc est rei? cur non agnosco, Cæcili, alacritatem tuam illam? et illam oculorum etiam in seriis hilaritatem requiro? Tum ille; Jamdudum 3 me Octavii nostri acriter angit et remordet oratio, qua in te invectus objurgavit negligentiæ, ut me [3]dissimulanter gravius argueret inscientiæ. Itaque progrediar ulterius: de toto et integro mihi cum Octavio res est. Si placet ut [4]ipsius sectæ homo 4 cum eo disputem, jam profecto intelliget facilius esse in contubernalibus disputare, quam [5]conserere sapientiam. Modo in istis ad tutelam balnea-

Ch. IV. [1] *nihil intendere,* "took no notice of what was going on." Comp. ch. vii. 8, *intende templis;* xvii, 11. *mari intende.* For *tacens, anxius, segregatus,* compare Homer's lines on Bellerophon (*Il.* vi. 202):

οἷος ἀλᾶτο,
ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων.

[2] *dolere nescio quid vultu fatebatur,* "he betrayed by the expression of his countenance that he was uneasy at something or other." Comp. Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. 17:

Et vultu morbum incessuque fatetur.

[3] *dissimulanter,* "covertly."

[4] *ipsius sectæ homo,* "an actual member of the sect," said in irony. "Opponitur adversario ficto et quasi umbratico, qui exercitii tantum gratia adversarii partes in se suscipit, quod fit cum disputatur in contubernalibus." LINDNER.

[5] *conserere sapientiam,* appears to be a pregnant expression for conserere sapientem sermonem: "to engage in close reasoning." Heraldus conjectures that the true reading is conserere sapienti manum: Lindner sapientium modo. Modo etc.; Ab. Hoven, (cum) sapientia = cum sapientibus; *Epist.* § 13 *not.*: cf. v. *not.* 10.

[6] *me ex tribus medium.* The middle place was the place of honour; Ovid, *Fast.* v. 67. Minucius therefore makes an apology for occupying it, saying, that he only sat there in the capacity of "moderator," *arbiter,* between the two disputants.

rum jactis et in altum procurrentibus petrarum obicibus residamus, ut et requiescere de itinere possimus, et intentius disputare. Et cum dicto ejus assedimus, ita ut [6]me ex tribus medium [7]lateris ambitione protegerent. Nec hoc obsequii fuit, aut ordinis, aut honoris, quippe cum amicitia pares semper aut accipiat aut faciat: sed ut arbiter et utrique proximus aures darem, et disceptantes duos medius segregarem. Tum sic Cæcilius exorsus est: CAP. IV.

CÆCILIUS' SPEECH. V—XIII.

Quanquam tibi, Marce frater, [1]de quo cum maxime quærimus non sit ambiguum; utpote quum diligenter in utroque vivendi genere versatus [2]repudiaris alterum, alterum comprobaris: [3]impræsentiarum tamen ita tibi informandus est animus, [4]ut libram teneas æquissimi judicis, nec in alteram partem propensus incumbas, ne non tam ex nostris disputationibus nata sententia, quam ex tuis sensi- CAP. V.

It must be very evident to an unprejudiced observer of the state of human affairs generally that no reliance can be placed in them: again, man is by his very constitution unfitted for enquiry into the hidden

Amicitia pares aut accipit aut facit was a proverbial line; so Aristotle, *Eth.* viii. 7, λέγεται γὰρ φιλότης ἡ ἰσότης.

[7] [*lateris* i. q. utriusque lateris, Jac. Gr.] *Ambitione* i. q. ambitu.

Ch. V. [1] *de quo cum-maxime quærimus*, h.e. *id, de quo;* "the point on the discussion of which we are now entering." *Cum-maxime* in the sense of "now," "at this moment," is frequently found in Tacitus; e.g. *Ann.* iii. 59; iv. 27; *Hist.* iv. 55, 58, tolerant cum maxime inopiam: it is also used as a conjunction by Liv. xxiii. 24; Cic. *de Off.* i. 13, qui, cum maxime fallunt, id agunt ut viri boni esse videantur.

[2] *repudiaris alterum, alterum comprobaris.* Repudiaverat ethnicorum superstitionem, comprobaverat Christi religionem.—*alterum* semel tantum in codice legitur. Oehler.

[3] *impræsentiarum*] "for the present." For the different opinions concerning the origin of this word, see Index *s. v.*

[4] *ut libram teneas æquissimi judicis.* Compare Clemens Alexandr. *Pædagog.* Lib. i. c. 10, *init.*: καθάπερ ἐπὶ ζύγου τὰς ἰσοστασίους ἀντισηκήσωμεν τοῦ δικαίου πλάστιγγας: and Shakespere 2d Pt. *K. Henry VI.* Act ii. Sc. 1. quoted below, Ch. xv. § 2. Further on the sentence *ne non tam, etc.* appears to be an imitation of Cicero, *Parad.* i. 2: "Vereor ne cui vestrum ex Stoicorum hominum disputationibus, non ex meo sensu deprompta hæc videatur oratio.'

CAP. V.

things of the Universe: it has baffled the researches of sages in all ages and countries: how great presumption then is it, for ignorant and illiterate men, like the Christians, to put forward their own conceits on the Supreme Cause of all things, as verities. Far better to hold with Epicurus that all things are the result of chance, when the notion of the Natural *and* Moral *Government of the World is proved by*

bus prolata videatur. Proinde [5]si mihi quasi novus 2
aliquis et quasi ignarus partis utriusque considas,
nullum negotium est patefacere, [6]omnia in rebus
humanis dubia, incerta, suspensa: magisque omnia
verisimilia, quam vera. Quo magis mirum est, non- 3
nullos tædio investigandæ penitus veritatis cuilibet
opinioni temere succumbere, quam in explorando
pertinaci diligentia perseverare. Itaque indignan- 4
dum omnibus, indolescendum est, audere quosdam,
[7]et hoc [8]studiorum rudes, [9]literarum profanos,
expertes, artium etiam sordidarum, certum aliquid
de summa rerum, ac majestate decernere, [10]de qua
tot omnibus seculis sectarum plurimarum usque
adhuc ipsa philosophia deliberat. Nec immerito; 5

[5] *si mihi considas*, "if you will *do me the favour* to sit upon this trial."

[6] *omnia in rebus humanis incerta.* Cæcilius starts with assuming the Academic theory of ἀκαταληψία, or nihil percipi posse. Cicero, *Acad. Pr.* II. 9. *Quo minus mirum, etc.*: "And therefore it is the less wonderful that some, disgusted at the trouble of thoroughly investigating the truth, should choose rather to give in to any opinion whatever at a venture, than to take time and pains to sift it." *Potius* is to be implied from the sense.

[7] *et hoc*, i. q. καὶ ταῦτα, "and that too."

[8] *studiorum rudes*, ἄνθρωποι ἰδιῶται καὶ ἀγράμματοι, *Acts* iv. 13. The enemies of Christianity ridiculed particularly the ignorance of most of its votaries; cf. Lactant. vii. 26, 8, "hæc nostra sapientia, quam isti tanquam stultitiam derident, quia nos defendere hanc publice atque adserere non solemus:" and see an apposite passage ap. Origen *c. Cels.* III. c. 55. p. 144; comp. Arnobius, *adv. Nation.* III. 15; Lucian. *de Peregr. Morte*, p. 338; Neander's *Julian.* § 12.

[9] *literarum profanos*, "uninitiated in letters." Comp. Macrob. *in Somn. Scip.* I. 18. *Expertes* is an adjunct to *profanos: artium etiam sordidarum*, "men of even the lowest occupations." Another way is to construe *expertes* with *artium*, "not so much as qualified for mean mechanical pursuits." For this sense of *expers* comp. Apuleius, *Metamorph.* III. p. 209; VI. p. 408. *ed. Hildebrand.*

[10] *de qua tot omnibus seculis etc.* "about which Philosophy itself, after so many ages in all, and divided as it is into very many sects, *deliberates* still." Comp. Cicero, *de N. D.* II. 3. *Philosophia*, i. e. philosophi: so above ch. iv, note 5: *sapientia* = sapientes.

[11] *divina*, h. e Dei.

CAP. V.

present matter of fact and experience to be false and absurd.

quum tantum absit ab exploratione [11]divina humana mediocritas, ut neque quæ supra nos cœlo suspensa sublata sunt, neque quæ infra terram profunda demersa sunt, aut scire sit datum, [12]aut scrutare permissum, aut stuprari religiosum: et beati satis, satisque prudentes jure videamur, si secundum [13]illud vetus sapientis oraculum, nosmetipsos familiarius
6 noverimus. Sed quatenus indulgentes insano atque inepto labori ultra humilitatis nostræ terminos evagamur, et in terram projecti [14]cœlum ipsum, et ipsa sidera audaci cupiditate transcendimus, [15]vel hunc errorem saltem non vanis et formidolosis opinioni-
7 bus implicemus. Sint principio omnium [16]semina natura in se coeunte densata: quis hic auctor Deus?

[12] *aut scrutare permissum, aut stuprari religiosum. Scrutare* is a later form of scrutari. We find in the writers of the African school the active form of many verbs used for the deponent: e. g. *æmulare, percontare, lucrare, reluctare, protestare, opitulare,* (infra c. xii. § 2): *augurare, merere.* The sense of stuprari is plainly "to lay violent hands on," i. e. to take forcible possession of: so that the various readings proposed by commentators (such as ruspari, lustrare, spurcare or stirpari), are entirely out of place. The whole passage may be rendered thus: "And no wonder (that philosophy is baffled): since the greatness of the Deity so much transcends the ken of man's littleness, that the very things of nature, be they raised above us aloft in the heaven, or sunk deep below the earth, these, I say, we are not privileged to understand, we are forbidden to pry into, we dare not rudely force."

[13] *illud vetus oraculum,* i. e γνῶθι σεαυτόν.

[14] *cœlum-transcendimus.* Horat. *Od.* I. III. 58:

Cœlum ipsum petimus stultitia.

Comp. below Ch. xii, 7. "Tales curiosulos et αἰθεροβατοῦντας more suo exagitat in *Icaromenippo* Lucianus, qui et in *Philopatride* (p. 612. 24) Christianis ita: ὑμεῖς πεδάρσιοι ὄντες, καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ ὑψηλοῦ ἅπαντα καθορῶντες ὀξυδερκέστατα καὶ τάδε νενοήκατε. πῶς δὲ τὰ τοῦ αἰθέρος; μῶν ἐκλείψει ὁ ἥλιος, ἢ δὲ σελήνη κατὰ κάθετον γενήσεται." LINDNER. *Insano indulgentes labori:* Virgil. *Æn.* II. 776.

[15] *vel hunc errorem...implicemus,* "let us, even if we fall into this error, at all events avoid interweaving it with silly and timid fancies." *Formidolosus* has a passive signification, as in Tac. *Hist.* I. 62; Ter. *Eun.* IV. 6. 19.

[16] *semina,* "atoms," according

CAP. V. sint fortuitis concursionibus totius mundi membra coalita, digesta, formata: quis Deus machinator? [17]Sidera licet ignis accenderit, et cœlum licet sua 8
materia suspenderit: licet terram fundaverit pondere, et mare licet influxerit e liquore: unde hæc religio, unde formido, quæ superstitio est? Homo 9
et animal omne, quod nascitur, inspiratur a tollitur, elementorum ut voluntaria concretio est, [18]in quæ rursum homo, et animal omne dividitur, solvitur, dissipatur; ita in fontem refluunt, et in semet omnia revolvuntur, nullo artifice, [19]nec judice, nec auctore. Sic, congregatis ignium seminibus, [20]soles alios atque 10
alios semper splendere; sic, exhalatis terræ vaporibus, [21]nebulas semper adolescere: quibus densatis

to the theory of Epicurus. See Lucr. I. 50; Virgil. *Eclog.* VI. 31—34; Cicero, *Acad.* I. vi. 17; *de N. D.* I. 25.

[17] *sidera licet ignis, etc.*, "The stars may have been lit up by fire, the heavens may have been poised by their own intrinsic levity, the earth depressed by its own intrinsic weight, and the sea may have flowed into its bed from moisture." *Sua materia* (i. q. sui generis materia) is to be repeated from the former clause before *fundaverit:* some commentators think before *influxerit* also.

[18] *in quæ omne animal ... dissipatur:* Comp. Lucret. I. 250:

Haud igitur redit in nihilum res ulla, sed omnes
Discidio redeunt in corpora materiai.

Cicero (*de N. D.* I. 25) speaks of corporum interitus et dissipatio.

[19] *nec judice.* Judex est, qui, quemadmodum Ovidius *Metam.* I. 19 canit: litem elementorum diremit. LINDNER.

Hanc Deus et melior litem Natura diremit.

[20] *soles alios,* "ever fresh and fresh suns." This was the Epicurean hypothesis. Lucret. *de Rer. Nat.* V. 303: *ib.* 659: semina ardoris Quæ faciunt Solis nova semper lumina gigni. Manil. *Astronom.* III. 513. Seque ipse dies aliumque revisit.

[21] *nebulas,* "rain-clouds;" *nubes,* "bright clouds;" *nimbi,* "dark thunder-clouds;" *fulgura,* "flashes of lightning;" *fulmina,* "thunderbolts."

[22] *adeo passim cadunt:* "yes, they fall indiscriminately, without aim." So Tibull. II. 3, 41.

Glans aluit veteres; et passim semper amarunt.

The force of *adeo* is difficult to express: it serves as a stronger affirmation of the preceding proposition. Hand, *Tursell.* I. 148, suggests that *ea* has been lost before *adeo*, the

coactisque, nubes altius surgere : iisdem labentibus, pluvias fluere, flare ventos, grandines increpare : vel nimbis collidentibus, tonitrua mugire, rutilare ful- 11 gura, fulmina præmicare ; [22]adeo passim cadunt, [23]montes irruunt, arboribus incurrunt : [24]sine delectu tangunt loca sacra et profana : homines noxios feriunt, sæpe et religiosos. Quid tempestates loquar varias ac incertas ; quibus, [25]nullo ordine vel examine, [26]rerum omnium impetus volutatur ? in naufragiis, bonorum malorumque fata mixta, merita confusa ? in incendiis, interitum convenire insontium nocentiumque ? et, quum tabe pestifera cæli tractus inficitur, [27]sine discrimine omnes deperire ? et, quum belli ardore sævitur, meliores potius occum- CAP. V.

use of which particle here he refers to the case, "ubi aliqua persona vel res, aliis ex adverso apposita, insigniter est demonstranda."

[23] *montes irruunt*, i. q. ruunt in montes. Comp. Sall. *Jugurth.* cap. lviii, *Merivale*: Claudian. *Cons. Manl.* v. 195.

Irruet intrepidus flammas.

Valer. Flacc. *Argon.* II. 147 :

gravis irruit Ochum Phleias.

[24] *sine delectu tangunt loca sacra et profana.* The same argument is given to disprove the government of the world by providence in Lucr. VI. 416, sq. :

Postremo cur sancta deûm delubra, suasque
Discutit infesto præclaras fulmine sedes,
Et bene facta deûm frangit simulacra, suisque
Demit imaginibus violento vulnere honorem ?

And by Aristophanes, *Nub.* 399,

καὶ πῶς, ὦ μῶρε σὺ καὶ Κρονίων ὄζων καὶ βεκκεσέληνε,
εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους δῆτ', οὐχὶ Σίμων' ἐνέπρησεν ;
οὐδὲ Κλεώνυμον οὐδὲ Θεώρον; καίτοι σφόδρα γ' εἰσ' ἐπίορκοι·
ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ γε νεών βάλλει, καὶ Σούνιον ἄκρον Ἀθηνέων
καὶ τὰς δρῦς τὰς μεγάλας; τί μαθών; οὐ γὰρ δὴ δρῦς γ' ἐπιορκεῖ.

[25] *nullo examine*, i. q. nullo judicio; "unswayed and orderless." Cf. XV. 2. *examine scrupuloso libremus.*

[26] *rerum omnium impetus*, "the rapid motion or whirl of all things." Comp. Cic. *de Divin.* II. 38: impetum cœli admirabili cum celeritate moveri videmus ; Lucret. V. 201:

quantum cœli tegit impetus ingens.

[27] *sine discrimine omnes.* So Thucydides in his description of the plague at Athens, ii. 53 ; θεῶν δὲ φόβος ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπεῖργε, τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ σέβειν καὶ μή, ἐκ τοῦ πάντας ὁρᾶν ἐν ἰσῷ ἀπολλυμένους.

CAP. V. bere? In pace etiam, non tantum æquatur nequitia 12
melioribus, [28]sed et colitur: ut in pluribus nescias, [29]utrum sit eorum detestanda pravitas, an optanda felicitas. Quod si mundus divina providentia, et 13
alicujus numinis auctoritate regeretur, [30]numquam mereretur Phalaris et Dionysius regnum, numquam Rutilius et Camillus exsilium; numquam Socrates venenum. Ecce arbusta frugifera, ecce [31]jam seges 14
cana, jam temulenta vindemia imbri corrumpitur, grandine cæditur. [32]Adeo aut incerta nobis veritas occultatur et premitur: [33]aut, quod magis credendum

[28] *sed et colitur,* "is not only put on a level with, but even procures a revered preeminence." *Nequitia,* i.e. homines nequam: cf. supra ch. iv, note 5.

[29] *utrum sit eorum detestanda pravitas an optanda felicitas.* Hinc impium Hesiodi votum *Opp.* v. 270:

νῦν δὴ ἐγὼ μήτ' αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιος
εἴην μητ' ἐμὸς υἱός, ἐπεὶ κακὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον
ἔμμεναι· εἰ μείζω γε δίκην ἀδικώτερος ἕξει.

In eandem mentem nonnulla dixit Aristophanes, *Plut.* vv. 29, seqq.; Pindarus apud Platon. *Republ.* II. p. 365, A. B.; *Maximum Tyrium,* Dissert. II. DAVIES.

[30] *nunquam mereretur Phalaris regnum, etc. Mereretur* i.q. consequeretur: see below, vi. note 4. The whole of this argument is borrowed from Cicero *de Nat.* III. 32, where it is expressed in the following quotation:

Nam si curent, bene bonis sit, male malis, quod nunc abest.

Numberless passages could be brought to prove how this objection perplexed the heathen, as the beautiful introduction of Claudian to his poem *in Rufinum;* which from the resemblance it bears to parts of Minucius (ch. XVII.) I subjoin:

Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem,
Curarent superi terras, an nullus inesset
Rector, et incerto fluerent mortalia casu.
Nam quum dispositi quæsissem fœdera mundi,
Præscriptosque maris fines, annique meatus,
Et lucis noctisque vices, tunc omnia rebar
Consilio firmata Dei, qui lege moveri
Sidera, qui fruges diverso tempore nasci,
Qui variam Phœben alieno jusserit igne
Compleri, solemque suo: porrexerit undis
Litora: tellurem medio libraverit axe.
Sed quum res hominum tanta caligine volvi
Adspicerem, lætosque diu florere nocentes,
Vexarique pios; rursus labefacta cadebat
Religio, causæque viam non sponte sequebar
Alterius, vacuo quæ currere semina motu
Affirmat, magnumque novas per inane figuras
Fortuna, non arte, regi: quæ numina sensu
Ambiguo vel nulla putat, vel nescia nostri.

Comp. Lucan. *Bell. Phar.* VII. 446; Sophocl. *Philoct.* 447, sqq.; Ovid. *Amor.* III. 8:

Dum rapiunt mala fata bonos, ignoscite fasso;
Solicitor nullos esse putare Deos.

est, variis et lubricis casibus, soluta legibus fortuna dominatur. Quum igitur aut fortuna [1]certa, aut incerta natura sit, quanto venerabilius ac melius [2]antistitem veritatis majorum excipere disciplinam? [3]religiones traditas colere? deos, quos a parentibus ante imbutus es timere, quam nosse familiarius, adorare? nec de numinibus ferre sententiam, sed prioribus credere, qui, adhuc rudi sæculo, in ipsis mundi natalibus, [4]meruerunt deos vel faciles habere, vel reges? [5]Inde adeo per universa imperia, provincias, oppida, videmus singulos sacrorum ritus

CAP. VI.

In this uncertainty the best way is, without presuming to judge of the gods, to follow the traditions of our remote ancestors, to whose active and zealous piety in conciliating the tutelar deities of all other nations, whom they incorporated into the national religion, must be ascribed the founda-

The Apologists employed themselves in refuting this position: see Justin. M. *Apol.*, Clem. Alexandr. *Cohort. ad Gent.*, Theodoret. *de Provident.*, Athenag. *de Resurrect. Mortuor.* c. 17.

[31] *jam seges cana,* "the cornfields just white unto harvest:" *jam temulenta vindemia,* "the vintage just ripe for the press."

[32] *Adeo,* "So then;" "I tell you then."

[33] *aut quod magis credendum est... fortuna dominatur*] "or, which is a more probable inference from the variety and sudden nature of disasters, fortune unfettered by restraint reigns paramount." It was a common notion amongst the heathen, μηδένα νομοθετεῖν μήδεν, τύχας δ' εἶναι σχέδον ἅπαντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα, Plato, *de Legg.* IV. p. 709 B; cf. Juven. *Sat.* XIII. 86. Lactantius tells us that she was represented cum copia et gubernaculo, tanquam et opes tribuat et humanarum rerum regimen obtineat, *Div. Inst.* III. 27: Stobæus, *Ecl. Phys.* II. 402.

[1] Ch. VI. *certa,* h. e. si vel hoc certum est, omnia fortuito evenire; vel Deus (hic enim gentilibus natura dicitur) incertus est. Conf. cap. viii, 1. LINDNER.

[2] *antistitem veritatis,* "as holding the keys of truth," or "declaring her voice." Cf. Tertull. *Apol.* c. XIX.

[3] *deos...adorare.* Tacit. *Germ.* cap. 14: Reverentius visum est de actis Deorum credere quam scire. GRONOVIUS.

[4] *meruerunt Deos vel faciles habere vel reges,* "whose privilege it was to have gods for their benefactors or for their kings." *Faciles* is equivalent to beneficos, as in Juv. vii. 57; Virgil. *Ecl.* III. 9:

Faciles nymphæ risere.

By *qui meruerunt* no more is expressed than would have been by quibus contigit, datum est: *mereri* often signifying simply "to earn," without any notion of personal merit: compare above, ch. v. note 30: below, ch. vi. note 13, *meruerunt regna:* ch. xiii. 2.

[5] *Inde adeo; adeo* is here emphatic. "From this circumstance in fact;" "just from this circumstance." Hand, *Tursellin.* I. p. 144.

CAP. VI. gentiles habere, et [6]deos colere municipes, ut Eleu-

tion of the greatness, and the vast extent of the Roman empire.

sinios Cererem, Phrygas Matrem, Epidaurios Æsculapium, Chaldæos Belum, Astarten Syros, Dianam Tauros, Gallos Mercurium, [7]universa Romanos. Sic 3 eorum potestas et auctoritas, totius orbis ambitus occupavit: sic imperium suum [8]ultra solis vias, et ipsius Oceani limites propagavit, dum [9]exercent in armis virtutem religiosam, dum urbem muniunt sacrorum religionibus, castis virginibus, multis honoribus, ac nominibus sacerdotum: dum obsessi, et 4 [10]citra solum capitolium capti, colunt deos, quos alius jam sprevisset, iratos; et [11]per Gallorum acies mirantium superstitionis audaciam pergunt telis inermes, sed cultu religionis armati: [12]dum, captis in hostilibus mœnibus adhuc ferociente victoria, nu-

[6] *deos municipes*, "such gods as are of their own community." Cf. Tertullian. *Apolog.* c. XXIV. By *matrem* is meant *Cybele*, so called κατ' ἐξοχήν, Virgil. *Georg.* IV. 64; *Æn.* III. 3.

[7] *universa Romanos*, sc. sacra, understood from *sacrorum ritus*, or perhaps numina. All but the true Deity: and why? Augustin supplies the answer, where he tells us (*de Civ. Dei.* Lib. IX.): "Hæc ratio est cur Hebræorum Deum, cum omnia numina Romani susceperint, rejicerint, quod ille solus coli volebat sine socio et æmulo majestatis."

[8] *ultra solis vias.* Poetice dictum (Virgil *Æn.* vi. 795): ultra solem orientem et occidentem, i. e. longissime. Oriri enim sol videbatur Italis ex Mari Supero et occidere in mari Infero. Ovidius *Fast.* ii. 136:

Hoc duce Romanum est Solis utrumque latus.

Veget. *de Re Mil.* i. 8. LINDNER.

[9] *exercent*, sc. Romani, implied from preceding *eorum*. *Dum urbem muniunt:* comp. Cic. *de N. D.* iii. *cap. ult.;* diligentius *urbem religione*, quam ipsis mœnibus *cingitis.*

[10] *citra solum capitolium capti etc.*, "when they had no other retreat left but the Capitol, they worshipped deities, that any other people would, ere then, have blasphemed because of their desertion of them."

[11] *per Gallorum acies.* The facts are recorded by Livy, v. 46, *Valer. Max.* i. 1.

[12] *dum captis vi hostilibus mœnibus.* Sensus est: Romani urbibus hostium vi captis, etiam inter ferocitatem victoriæ, ubi alias pietas omnis exsulat, tamen numina victa venerati sunt. LINDNER. It was the

mina victa venerantur: dum undique hospites deos quærunt et suos faciunt: dum aras exstruunt etiam ignotis numinibus et manibus. Sic dum universarum gentium sacra suscipiunt, etiam regna [13]meruerunt. Hinc perpetuus venerationis tenor mansit, qui longa ætate non infringitur, sed augetur: quippe [14]antiquitas cærimoniis atque fanis tantum sanctitatis tribuere consuevit, quantum adstruxerit vetustatis. [1]Nec tamen temere, (ausim enim interim et ipse concedere et sic melius errare) majores nostri, aut observandis auguriis aut extis consulendis aut instituendis sacris aut delubris dedicandis operam navaverunt. Specta de libris [2]memorias: jam eos deprehendes initiasse ritus omnium religionum, vel ut remuneraretur divina indulgentia, vel ut averte-

CAP. VI.

CAP. VII.

Instances and proofs of the favourable agency of the Roman deities.

custom, before carrying a city by storm, to evoke its tutelar gods and invite them to Rome. See the commentators on Arnobius *adv. Nat.* iii. 38.

[13] *meruerunt* i.q. adepti sunt: v. supra ch. v. note 8. It was this fondness for Polytheism, and the prevailing belief that Rome should be the Pantheon of all forms of worship,

(Dignus Roma locus, quo deus omnis eat

OVID. *Fast.* iv. 275),

which occasioned Petronius Arbiter's remark, that it was easier to find a god than a man at Rome, (*facilius deum quam hominem invenias*).

[14] *antiquitas—vetustatis.* Comp. Cicer. *de Div.* ii. 33; errabat enim in multis antiquitas, quam vel usu jam, vel doctrina, vel vetustate immutatam videmus. *Antiquitas* = antiqui: abstract for concrete; cf. supra, Ch. iv, note 5: infra, Ch. viii, note 3.

Ch. VII. [1] *Nec tamen temere—ausim enim etc.* '"I venture for argument's sake, to suppose the existence of the gods, which is the safer error; and on that supposition, I assert that it was not without just cause that our forefathers &c." The meaning seems to be: "If by this concession that there are superintending divinities, I should fall into superstitious error, still my error is preferable to that of Octavius: for I am to speak of divinities who protect *their* votaries; whereas the god of Octavius concerns not himself for *his*."' HAILES. V. Cicero, *de N. D.* ii. 2.

[2] *memorias;* objectively, i. q. memorationes; "narratives:" cf. ch. xvi. § 6: in *memorias* exierunt, ch. xxxi. § 2. *memoriæ* et tragoediæ vestræ gloriantur. *de libris* i.q. librorum: vide Hand, *Tursellin.* ii. p. 203.

CAP. VII. retur imminens ira, aut ut jam tumens et sæviens placaretur. Testis mater Idæa, quæ adventu suo 3
et probavit [3]matronæ castitatem et urbem metu hostili liberavit: testes [4]equestrium fratrum [5]in lacu, sicut ostenderant, statuæ consecratæ, qui anhelis, spumantibus equis atque fumantibus de Perse victoriam, eadem die, qua [6]fecerant, nuntiaverunt. Testis ludorum offensi Jovis [7]de somno plebeii ho- 4
minis iteratio: et [8]Deciorum devotio rata testis est; testis et [9]Curtius, qui equitis sui vel mole vel honore

[3] *matronæ castitatem.* The story of Claudia is to be found in Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 305, sqq.; Sil. Ital. xvii. 34; Livy xxix. 14, where also she is called *matrona.* It is hinted at by Tertullian *Apol.* 22; and told more at large by Lactantius *de Orig. Erroris,* cap. 7; cf. August. *de C. D.* x. 16. For an explanation of the next sentence, *urbem—liberavit,* see Livy, xxix. 10: Civitatem eo tempore recens religio invaserat, invento carmine in libris Sibyllinis, propter crebrius eo anno de cœlo lapidatum inspectis: quandoque hostis alienigena terræ Italiæ bellum intulisset, eum pelli Italia vincique posse, si mater Idæa a Pessinunte Romam advecta foret: cf. Arnob. *adv. Nat.* vii. 49.

[4] *equestrium fratrum statuæ,* called *phantasmata Castorum* by Tertullian (*ubi supra*): comp. Lactantius *l. l.* They are quoted as instances of a providence by Balbus ap. Cicer. *de N. D.* ii. 2. Cf. *Tusc. Q.* i. 12; Val. Max. I. viii.

[5] *in lacu,* Juturnæ. Valer. Max. I. viii. 1, 2; Florus ii. 12. *Sicut ostenderant* i. e. eodem habitu, quo se ostenderant.

[6] *fecerant* i. q. præstiterant.

[7] *de somno,* "because of the dream:" Hand, *Tursell.* ii. p. 207, or perhaps "after the dream." For the story, see Liv. ii. 36; Val. Max. i. 7, § 4; Arnob. vii. 39.

[8] *Deciorum devotio.* See Liv. viii. 9; x. 28; Val. Max. v. 6; Cicer. *de N. D.* iii. 36.

[9] *testis et Curtius.* See Liv. vii. 6; Val. Max. v. 6; cf. Dionys. Halic. ii. 42; Liv. i. 13. If *Curtius* refer to Marcus himself, the words *qui equitis sui etc.,* may mean, "who "with the bulk of himself and horse" (*lit.* himself on horseback, *mole equitis sui* for mole sua, qui eques erat) "together with the offerings "of corn thrown in by the Roman "people, as a mark of honour, filled up the chasm." But *equitis* is taken by some to be the same as equi, of which use there are classical examples, according to the authority of A. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xviii. 5. Again, others understand lacus with *Curtius.* Perhaps *equitans* may be the true reading.

[10] *sic Allia nomen infaustum. Æn.* vii. 717. It was here that the

5 hiatum profundæ voraginis coæquavit. Frequen- CAP. VII.
tius etiam quam volebamus, deorum præsentiam
contemta auspicia contestata sunt. [10]Sic Allia
nomen infaustum: [11]sic Claudii et Junii non præ-
6 lium in Pœnos, sed ferale naufragium est. Et ut
Trasimenus Romanorum sanguine et major esset
et decolor, [12]sprevit auguria Flaminius; et, [13]ut
Parthos signa repetamus, dirarum imprecationes
7 Crassus et meruit et irrisit. Omitto vetera, quæ
multa sunt, et de deorum natalibus, donis, muneri-

Gauls gave the Romans such a fatal overthrow B.C. 389, that dies Alliensis, went proverbially for "dies infaustus," Liv. vi. 1; hence Lucan vii. 408 speaks of it as:

damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis:

Comp. Suetonius *Vitell.* c. vii.; Tacitus *Hist.* ii. 21. It was set down to contemta auspicia, because Q. Sulpicius, before he engaged with the Gauls, sacrificed the day after the Ides, which was reckoned an unlucky day. Cf. Liv. v. 37; vi. 1; Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 16.

[11] *sic Claudii et Junii.* P. Claudius, son of Appius Cæcus, elected consul in the 1st Punic war, B.C. 249, commanded the fleet sent to reinforce the troops at Lilybæum. In defiance of the auguries he attacked the Carthaginian fleet lying in the harbour of Drepana, but was entirely defeated with the loss of almost all his forces. Cicer. *de Div.* i. 16; ii. 8, 33; *de N. D.* ii. 35; Suet. *Tiber.* c. ii.; Valer. Max. I. iv. 3; "Collega ejus Junius (says Cicero *de Nat. Deor. l. l.*) tempestate classem amisit, cum auspiciis non paruisset."

[12] *sprevit auguria Flaminius;* quod signifer defixum signum non poterat convellere. Lege Livium xxii. 3. Ferociter enim apud Silium dixit lib. V. v. 118;

Sat magnus in hostem
Augur adest ensis, pulcrumque et milite dignum
Auspicium Latio, quod in armis dextera præstat. CELLARIUS.

[13] *ut Parthos signa repetamus.* The passages in which *petere* and its compounds are found with a double accusative are mostly disputed; v. Hildebrand. ad Apul. *Apol.* Lib. iv. c. 32. Hence it has been proposed to substitute a Partho or a Parthis for *Parthos*, or else for *repetamus* to read reposcamus, the word which is employed by Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 606:

Parthosque reposcere signa;

and Sueton. *Octav.* c. 21: signa militaria, quæ M. Crasso ademerant, reposcenti reddiderunt. *Dirarum imprecationes:* Flor. *Epit.* III. xi: tribunus plebis Metellus exeuntem ducem hostilibus diris devoverat: cf. Plutarch *Vit. Crass.* p. 224. Vell. Paterc. II. 46. 2; Cic. *de Div.* I. 35.

CAP. VII. bus negligo carmina poetarum: [14]prædicta etiam de oraculis fata transilio, ne vobis antiquitas nimium fabulosa videatur. [15]Intende templis ac delubris 8 deorum, quibus Romana civitas et protegitur et ornatur; [16]magis sunt augusta numinibus incolis, præsentibus, inquilinis, quam cultus insignibus et muneribus opulenta. Inde adeo pleni et mixti Deo vates [17]futura præcerpunt, dant cautelam periculis, morbis medelam, spem adflictis, opem miseris, solatium calamitatibus, laboribus levamentum: etiam per quietem deos videmus, audimus, agnoscimus, quos impie per diem negamus, nolumus, [18]pejeramus.

[14] *prædicta de oraculis fata:* cf. supra note 2: *specta de libris memorias.*

[15] *Intende templis,* sc. oculos: so *mari intende,* ch. xvii. § 11: conf. supra, iv. note 1.

[16] *magis sunt augusta numinibus præsentibus.* Cf. Juv. XIII. 111,

Templorum quoque majestas præsentior.

The heathen did not believe the images themselves to be gods; but only that they were to be worshipped because of the indwelling deities, which were introduced by a kind of magical consecration and there confined. Thus we see why the Greeks called their temples *ναοί,* as being the dwelling of the god (*ναίειν*), and the Latins, *ædes.* Compare Arnobius *adv. Nat.* Lib. VI. c. 1—4. Idcirco attribuimus diis templa, ut eos possimus coram et cominus contueri et cum præsentibus quodammodo venerationum colloquia miscere: Cicero, *de N. D.* ii. 27; concinneque, ut multa, Timæus, qui quum in historia dixisset, qua nocte natus Alexander esset, eadem Dianæ Ephesiæ templum deflagravisse, adjunxit minime id esse mirandum, quod Diana, quum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset, abfuisset domi. It was against this notion that St Paul says (*Acts* xvii. 25): *ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θεραπεύεται προσδεόμενός τινος.*

[17] *futura præcerpunt:* ex auditu seu revelatione divina. Tertullianus *Apolog.* cap. xxii. sic carpendi verbo usus est. CELLAR.

[18] *ejeramus,* i.q. nonagnoscimus, is the conjectural reading of I. F. Gronovius (*Observ. in Script. Eccles. Mon.* cap. vii. p. 73) for pejeramus, which he rejects on the ground that the latter part of the sentence is covertly directed against the Christians, who could not well be said *pejerare deos,* "to swear falsely by gods," whom they did not believe in. His explanation of the passage is as follows: Nullum

Itaque quum omnium gentium de diis immortalibus, quamvis incerta sit vel ratio vel origo, maneat tamen firma consensio; neminem fero tanta audacia tamque [1]irreligiosa nescio qua prudentia tumescentem, qui hanc religionem tam vetustam, tam utilem, tam salubrem dissolvere aut infirmare
2 nitatur. [2]Sit licet ille Theodorus Cyrenæus, vel qui prior, Diagoras Milesius, cui Atheon cognomen apposuit antiquitas, qui uterque, nullos deos adseverando, timorem omnem, quo [3]humanitas regitur, venerationemque penitus sustulerunt: numquam tamen in hac impietatis disciplina simulatæ phi-
3 losophiæ nomine atque auctoritate pollebunt. Quum

CAP. VIII.

Wherefore since all nations concur in the belief of the gods, we cannot brook those, who go about to undo a belief so ancient, and so full of practical benefit: not even professed philosophers, much less a rabble of profane, ignorant and abandoned fanatics, secret traitors, bad citizens, unsocial in their manners, worthless in their conduct,

hominem esse censeo, cui non eveniat interdum saltem, ut secundum quietem deorum cernat speciem, audiat voces, agnoscat majestatem, et tamen sunt inter homines, qui eos per diem negent, nolint, ejerent.

Ch. VIII. [1] *irreligiosa nescio qua prudentia tumescentem:* "puffed up with conceit of his irreverent sort of wit." Lindner compares Lactant. *de Ira*, c. 12: nunc quoniam respondimus impiæ quorundam detestabilique prudentiæ.

[2] *sit licet ille Theodorus Cyrenæus:* "let him be a Theodorus of Cyrene, or his predecessor Diagoras the Milesian." On Theodorus see Diogen. Laert. ii. 86, 101 sqq.; Cicer. *Tusc. Disput.* i. 43; *de Nat. Deor.* i. i. 2. On Diagoras, Tatian *ad Græc.* § 27, *ed. Otto:* Διαγόρας Ἀθηναῖος ἦν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον ἐξορχησάμενον τὰ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις μυστήρια τετιμωρήκατε· καὶ τοῖς Φρυγίοις αὐτοῦ λόγοις ἐντυγχάνοντες ἡμᾶς μεμισήκατε: Plutarch de *Plac. Phil.* lib. i. c. 7. In the whole of this passage there is plainly an appropriation of Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* i. i. 2: whose words are, 'deos esse 'dixit dubitare se Protagoras; nul-'los esse omnino Diagoras Melius, 'et Theodorus Cyrenaicus putave-'runt:' and a little further, 'haud 'scio an pietate adversus deos sub-'latâ fides etiam et societas humani 'generis et una excellentissima vir-'tus justitia tollatur.'

It is doubtful whether the epithet *Milesius* instead of the usual Melius is due to the transcribers or to Minucius himself. I have ascribed it to the latter, for Chrysostom (*Hom.* iv. *in* i. *Ep. ad Corinth.* c. 1), Eusebius, Theodoret, all agree in calling him by the same name. See Bentley on *Callimach. Fragm.* 86.

[3] *humanitas*, i. q. genus humanum, cf. ch. xxvi. § 10; so *gentilitas* is used for gens, ch. x. § 4. Ἀνθρωπότης is used similarly to sig-

CAP. VIII. Abderitem Protagoram Athenienses viri, [4]consulte potius quam profane de divinitate disputantem et expulerint suis finibus et in concione ejus scripta deusserint: [5]quid? homines (sustinebitis enim me impetum susceptæ actionis liberius exserentem) homines, inquam, [6]deploratæ, [7]inlicitæ ac [8]desperatæ

odiously stubborn in their religious faith: which is rapidly gaining ground, and requires to be put down and demolished.

VIII.—IX. 1.

nify "mankind" in Theophil. *ad Autolyc.* lib. 1 ch. 12. (Davies).

[4] *consulte potius quam profane,* "sceptically rather than profanely," "circumspectly, without avowed profaneness." There is doubtless a reference to Cicero *de N. D.* I. 2: Nam Abderites quidem Protagoras cum in principio libri sic posuisset, de divis neque ut sint neque ut non sint habeo dicere, Atheniensium jussu urbe atque agro est exterminatus, librique ejus in concione combusti. Compare Theophil. *ad Autolyc.* lib. III. c. vii. Diog. Laert. ix. 50, sqq.

profane disputat, qui Deos aut plane negat aut impie de iis loquitur. LINDNER.

[5] *quid homines etc.*; "what? is "it not a mournful thing, that a "gang of fellows (you must bear "with me while I give its full force "to the plea which I have under-"taken) a gang, I say, of forlorn "fellows, desperadoes, put under the "ban of our laws, should commit "assault on the gods?"

[6] *deploratæ:* Ita dicebantur Christiani, quia in illis reformandis atque de sententia deducendis frustra jam omnia gentes tentaverant. Sic deplorati a medicis apud Plinium vii. 50. LINDNER.

[7] *inlicitæ:* So Celsus accuses the Christians ὡς συνθήκας κρύβδην παρὰ τὰ νεμομισμένα ποιουμένων· *Orig.* I. i: Christianity not yet having been admitted by the laws of the state into the class of religiones licitæ. See Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. I. § 1. 3; Woodham on Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. xxi. note 2, and c. xxxviii.

[8] *desperatæ.* Lactantius *de Justitia* cap. viii. § xii.; qui magni æstimaverint fidem, cultoresque Dei non abnegaverint, in eos vero totis carnificinæ suæ viribus, veluti sanguinem sitiant, incumbunt et desperatos vocant, quia corpori suo minime parcunt: Tertullian *Apol.* c. 50; merito itaque victis non placemus; propterea enim desperati et perditi existimamur. Sed hæc desperatio et perditio penes vos, in causa gloriæ et famæ vexillum virtutis extollunt. Cf. Bingham's *Antiqq.* Book I. ch. ii. § 8.

[9] *grassari in deos:* hence they were traduced as athei and impii; Arnob. i. 29; iii. 28. Vide infra ch. viii. not. 14, and Bingham *l. l.* Book I. ch. ii. § 2; Cave *Prim. Christ.* Part I. Ch. i. For the meaning of *grassari* see Merivale on Sallust, *Jugurth.* ch. 1.

[10] *de ultima fæce,* sub. hominibus; Hand, *Tursellin.* ii. 203. In like manner CELSUS *ap. Origen.* lib. II. p. 151 says of them: μόνους τοὺς ἠλιθίους καὶ ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδάρια πείθειν ἐθέλουσί τε καὶ δύνανται: and again p. 144;

factionis [9]grassari in deos, non ingemiscendum est? CAP. VIII.
4 qui [10]de ultima fæce collectis imperitioribus et mulieribus credulis, sexus sui facilitate labentibus, plebem [11]profanæ conjurationis instituunt; quæ [12]nocturnis congregationibus et [13]jejuniis solemnibus et [14]inhumanis cibis, [15]non sacro quodam sed piaculo

ὁρῶμεν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας ἐριούργους καὶ σκυτοτόμους καὶ κναφεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους τε καὶ ἀγροικοτάτους...ἐπειδὰν τῶν παίδων ἰδίᾳ λάβωνται καὶ γυναίων τινων σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνοήτων, θαυμάσι' ἄττα διεξίοντας κ.τ.λ. Comp. Lactantius *de Justitia* c. xiii. § 3; Si enim feminæ sexus infirmitate labuntur (nam interdum isti muliebrem aut anilem superstitionem vocant) viri certe sapiunt: and cap. xx.; Theodoret. *Græc. aff. cur.* p. 81, 82, *ed. Gaisford;* ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ταῦτα εἰδότας τὰ δόγματα οὐ μόνους γε τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοὺς διδασκάλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκυτοτόμους χαλκοτύπους καὶ ταλασιούργους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀχειροβιώτους· καὶ γυναῖκας ὡσαύτως οὐ μόνον τὰς λόγων μετεσχηκυίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ χερνήτιδας καὶ ἀκεστρίας καὶ μέντοι καὶ θεραπαίνας· καὶ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν καὶ σκαπανέας καὶ βοηλάτας καὶ φυτούργους περὶ τῆς θείας διαλεγομένους Τριάδος, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὅλων δημιουργίας, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν εἰδότας Ἀριστοτέλους πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ Πλάτωνος. Compare a passage in Tatian, *Orat. ad Græc.* § 33, where Maranus adduces Justin Martyr *Apol.* II. c. xi.; Clem. Alexand. *Strom.* p. 497: Lactant. *Inst. Div.* VI. c. 4; and also Cyril. *contr. Julian.* vii. p. 229.

[11] *profanæ conjurationis,* i.e. "conspiracy against the gods."

[12] *nocturnis congregationibus.* Plinius *ad Trajanum* de Christianis. Soliti stato die ante lucem convenire: carnemque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere invicem. Tertullianus *ad Uxorem* cap. iv. *nocturnas convocationes* appellat. CELLAR. Thus it was the hard lot of the Christians, that they could neither meet openly without exposing themselves to violence, nor in secret, without subjecting themselves to suspicion. Cave, *Prim. Christ.* part. I. ch. vii.; Bingham, *Antiquit.* Bk. I. ch. ii. § 9: Kortholt, *Pag. Obt.* c. xvi.

[13] *jejuniis solemnibus:* their "solemn fasts," which they called *stationes,* i.e. watches of the milites Christi: Tertull. *ad Uxor.* II. c. 4; *de Fug.* c. 1; *de Orat. cap. ult.; de Jejun.* c. xii. stationum semijejunia. They were kept on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays,* and usually lasted till 3 P. M. Cave *l. c.* Part. 1, ch. vii. p. 180; Beveridge, *Canon.* LXIX.

[14] *inhumanis cibis,* "unnatural repasts;" v. infra ch. ix. § 6. Τρία ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλήματα, says Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* § 3, ἀθεότητα, Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις: cfr. Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* III. § 4: τὸ ἀθεώτατον καὶ ὠμότατον συκοφαντοῦσιν, πασῶν σαρκῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐφάπτεσθαι ἡμᾶς.

[15] *non sacro quodam sed piaculo*

CAP. VIII. fœderantur. Latebrosa et lucifugax [16]natio, in pub- 5
licum muta, in angulis garrula; [17]templa ut busta
despiciunt, [18]deos despuunt, rident sacra, miserentur
miseri, si fas est, sacerdotum [19]honores et purpuras
despiciunt ipsi seminudi. Pro mira stultitia et 6
incredibili audacia spernunt tormenta præsentia,
dum incerta metuunt et futura: et dum [20]mori
post mortem timent, interim mori non timent:

fœderantur. Pliny's testimony is the most complete refutation of this charge: "soliti se sacramento non "in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed "ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulte- "ria committerent, ne fidem falle- "rent, ne depositum appellati abne- "garent, quibus peractis morem iis "discedendi fuisse, rursusque conve- "niendi ad capiendum cibum, pro- "miscuum tamen et innoxium."

[16] *natio* is here applied contemptuously, as in Phædr. II. *fab.* 5, v. 1: Est ardelionum quædam Romæ natio. *in publicum muta:* cf. Lactant. VII. 26. 8.

[17] *templa ut busta despiciunt.* The Christians looked upon the heathen temples as *charnel-houses*, because they looked upon their gods but as dead men: Tertullian, *de Spectac.* c. xiii.; "dum mortui et dii unum sunt, utraque idololatria abstinemus, nec minus templa quam monimenta despicimus." The Christians themselves did not begin to bury in the body of their churches for some hundreds of years after Constantine. See Cave's *Primitive Christianity*, Pt. III. ch. ii. p. 278.

[18] *deos despuunt*, h. e. simulacra deorum. V. Origen. *adv. Cels.* Lib. VIII. p. 402.

[19] *honores et purpuras despiciunt.* It is clear from Octavius' answer that we must connect *honores* with *purpuras*, rather than with the preceding word *sacerdotum*, as is done by some editors. The high offices (*magistratus*) of the Roman state were called *honores.* "*Purpura* vero "magistratuum insigne, et ejus usus "idololatriæ proprie dicatus, atque "vel ex eo colligebat Tertullianus "*de Idol.* c. 18: non licere fideli "dignitatis aut potestatis alicujus "administrationem gerere." HERALDUS.

[20] *mori post mortem:* Apocal. xx. 6: μακάριος ὁ ἔχων μέρος ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῇ πρώτῃ· ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν: xxi. 8. Comp. Lucian, *de Morte Peregrini:* p. 600: πεπείκασι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀθάνατοι ἔσεσθαι, καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, παρ' ὃ καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἑκόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιδόασιν οἱ πολλοί.

[21] *ita illis pavorem fallax spes solatia rediviva blanditur. Blandiri* hoc loco est, mollire, levare, ut ap. Colum. vii. 5. 16; "*blanditur* lac caprinum igneam sævitiam sacri ignis." *Pavor* est metus mortis et tormentorum præsentium. *Solatium redi-*

[21]ita illis pavorem fallax spes solatia rediviva blan- CAP. VIII.
ditur.

Ac jam, ut fecundius nequiora proveniunt, ser- CAP. IX.
pentibus in dies perditis moribus, [1]per universum
orbem sacraria ista teterrima impiæ coitionis ado-
2 lescunt. Eruenda prorsus hæc, et exsecranda con-
sensio. [2]Occultis se notis et insignibus noscunt, et *Various stories are told of them, and the ob-*
amant mutuo pæne antequam noverint: [3]passim

vivum est, quale a redivivis speratur in altera vita. Sensus ergo est: mitigat timorem mortis et tormentorum præsentium spes illa fallax fore ut aliquando reviviscant. LINDNER, who reads *solatio redivivo* against MS. authority. Davies suggests *pavore* and explains thus; *ita fallax spes illis solatia blanditur, ob pavorem,* quem patefaciunt, *dum mori post mortem timent.* After all the various methods proposed for taking this passage, perhaps it may be safe to conjecture that *solatia rediviva* is to be taken in apposition with *spes:* we may then translate, "thus does the delusive hope, the consolation of a fancied revival, assuage their fears."

Ch. IX. [1] *per universum orbem.* Quod hic hostis fatetur, ad idem hostes Arnobius vocat. *adv. Nation.* Lib. I. p. 33. (c. 54): "Si falsa *inquit,* ut dicitis, historia illa rerum est, unde tam brevi tempore totus mundus ista religione completus est? aut in unam coire qui potuerunt mentem gentes regionibus dissitæ, ventis cœli convexionibusque dimotæ?" CELLAR. cf. Plin. Lib. x. *Ep.* 97. 9: Tacit. *Ann.* XV. 44. *Sacrarium* properly is, "locus ubi sacra reponuntur," here it is applied to the place in which the Christians met to pray; *adolescunt,* lit. "are attaining to their full growth:" cf. Tac. *Hist.* III. 34: "Cremona numero colonorum...annexu connubiisque gentium adolevit." The word *coire* is peculiarly applied to factious and unlawful combinations: Herald. ad Tertull. *Apol.* p. 152. 37; *de Fug. in Persecut.* c. 12: see Kaye's *Eccles. Hist.* ch. ii: Neander's *Ch. Hist.* Vol. I. § i. 3. Religious associations constantly awakened suspicion, being considered to serve merely as a cover for political plots and conspiracies: at night they were expressly forbidden under pain of death: *Tab.* IX. *leg.* VI: SEI QUII ENDO URBE COITUS NOCTURNOS AGITASIT, CAPITAL ESTOD.

[2] *occultis se notis noscunt;* according to ch. 31, § 9, *notaculo corporis:* the Carpocratians, we learn from the translator of Irenæus, I. 24, did actually mark themselves on the ear. V. Dodwell. *Dissert. Cyprian.* II. § ii.

[3] *passim etiam inter eos etc.:* "their religion too is a mere medley of lust." "*Religio libidinum,*" says Lindner, "sunt conventus, in quibus sub nomine religionis exercendæ libidines explent."

CAP. IX. etiam inter eos quædam libidinum religio miscetur: ac [4]se promisce appellant fratres, et sorores, ut etiam [5]non insolens stuprum intercessione sacri nominis fiat incestum. Ita eorum [6]vana et demens superstitio sceleribus gloriatur. Nec de ipsis, nisi 3
subsisteret veritas, [7]maxima et varia et honore præfanda sagax fama loqueretur. Audio eos turpis- 4

jects of their worship, which must be founded in truth, as is shewn by the affected secrecy of their corrupt religion. IX. 2.—X. 1.

[4] *se promisce appellant fratres et sorores:* v. Balduin. *dissert.* § xxi. How grossly the love and charity of the early Christians was misinterpreted, and their expressions of affection misconstrued, may be seen from Tertullian *Apologet.* c. xxix.: sed et quod fratres nos vocamus... infamant: and Lucian, *de mort. Peregr.* c. 11—16; ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ πρῶτος ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πάντες εἶεν ἀλλήλων, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ παραβάντες θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνίκους ἀπαρνήσωνται, τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους βιῶσι. Cf. Athenag. *Leg. pro Christ.* cap. 28. "Mendacium ex eo natum," says *Davies*, quod apud veteres hæc erant nequitiæ verba. Vide Petronii *Satir.* cum alibi, cum cap. 9 et 11, Lips. *Var. Lect.* ii. 1; Martial, Lib. II. *Ep.* 4.

Fratrem te vocat et sorOR vocatur,
Cur vos nomina nequiora tangunt?

[5] *non insolens stuprum:* "simple fornication, an ordinary occurrence amongst them." Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* Lib. III. §. 4: φασκόντων ὡς κοινὰς ἁπάντων οὔσας τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν, καὶ διαφόρῳ μίξει ξυνόντας. Vide Cave, *Prim. Christ.* Part. II. ch. v. p. 108.

[6] *vana et demens superstitio.* Christiana religio a gentilibus dicebatur *superstitio*, quoniam novos sibi ritus assumebant. Justinus *Apol.* I. c. 60: πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα γεγενῆσθαι τὸν χριστόν, ubi interpretes conferendi. Atqui *superstitiosos* vocabant tales, Lactantius IV. 28, 14. Eadem dicitur *vana*, utpote non suffulta antiquitate, (Virgil. *Æn.* VIII. v. 187:

Vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum),

nec certis rationibus subnixa; sed frivolis tantum et inanibus persuasionibus. *Demens* denique, quod cruciari atque interfici mallent, quam tura tribus digitis comprehensa in focum *jactare*, Lactantius V. xviii. 12. LINDNER. *ex Heraldo.* Neander *Ch. Hist.* I. § 1. 3.

[7] *maxima et varia* h. e. multa et multorum generum. Most Edd. have adopted Ursinus' conjecture *maxime nefaria. Honore præfanda* is explained by Arnob. *adv. Nat.* V. 27: 'quas inter aures castas sine venia nefas est ac sine honoribus appellare præfatis:' cf. Quintilian *Declam.* III. tuis honos sit habitus sanctissimis auribus. The true meaning of the word *sagax* is given in Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* c. 31: sagire sentire acute est; ex quo sagæ anus, quia multa scire volunt, et *sagaces* dicti canes.

[8] *caput asini—venerari:* "Many "of the conjectures of studious

simæ pecudis [8]caput asini consecratum inepta nescio qua persuasione venerari: digna et nata religio talibus moribus. Alii eos ferunt ipsius antistitis ac [9]sacerdotis colere genitalia, et quasi parentis sui adorare naturam. Nescio an falsa, certe occultis ac nocturnis sacris apposita suspicio. Et qui [10]hominem summo supplicio pro facinore puni- CAP. IX.

men," remarks Lord Hailes, "concerning the origin of this fable are "no less absurd than the fable itself. "It is plain that, for some time, the "Christian Apologists knew not "how to account for it. To Celsus, "that eminent foe of Christianity, we "are indebted for the discovery of "the origin of a tale, at which Ter"tullian, *Apolog.* c. 16, could only "guess. Vide Origen. *c. Cels.* lib. VI. "p. 295. Celsus mentions a *scheme* or "*plan*, which he had seen, contain"ing delineations of seven celestial "intelligences, under the form of "animals. He says, 'That the se"venth had the countenance of an "ass and was called Thaphabaoth "or Onoel.' (ὄνου ἔχειν πρόσωπον "καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι αὐτὸν Θαφαβάωθ "ἢ Ὀνόηλ). And he confidently "asserts, that the Christians wor"shipped those intelligences or spi"rits, and particularly one named "Thaphabaoth, under the form of an ass." Origen traces the plan to the mystical jargon of certain men named Ophiani, who were confounded, wilfully or ignorantly, with the professors of Christianity. Vide Cave, *Prim. Chr.* Pt. I. ch. v. pp. 119, 120. *Talibus moribus.* Est enim asinus animal et patientissimum et salacissimum Phædr. III. *Fab.* 20. LINDNER. *Nescio qua persuasione.* The word *persuasio* like præsumptio (Tertull. *Apol.* cap. 49; *de testim. anim.* cap. 4: Apulej. *Metamorph.* IX. cap. 14) is said of a "decision resting on insufficient grounds, and without due information:" it was commonly by the heathen applied to the Christian religion and particularly to their doctrine of the resurrection. So πρόληψις is used, Justin M. *Apolog.* II. 6

[9] *sacerdotis colere genitalia.* This contemptible scandal took its rise most probably from the posture in which penitents were wont to kneel before the bishop: Cave, *Prim. Ch.* Pt. 3, ch. v. Tertull. *de Pœnit.* cap. ix. Hence the expressions, advolvi presbyteris, and volutando caligas fratrum detergere, and caris Dei adgeniculari *Naturam* pro pudendis habet Apuleius *Metam.* Lib. III. c. 24; Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. III. cap. 22: *de Divin.* Lib. II. cap. 70.

[10] *hominem summo supplicio punitum.* Vide Balduin *Dissert.* § xvii. Cf. Tac. *Annal.* XV. 44; Arnob. *adv. Gent.* Lib. I. cap. 20; Idcirco dii vobis infesti sunt, quod hominem natum et quod personis infame est vilibus crucis supplicio interemptum Deum fuisse contenditis; et cap. 40; Lactantius *Div. Inst.* Lib. IV. cap. 26. § 29; cur, si Deus fuit et mori voluit, (dicat fortasse aliquis), non

CAP. IX. tum, et crucis ligna feralia eorum ceremonias fabulatur, [11]congruentia perditis sceleratisque tribuit altaria, ut id colant quod merentur.

Jam [12]de initiandis tirunculis fabula tam detes- 6
tanda, quam nota est. Infans farre contectus, ut decipiat incautos, apponitur ei qui sacris imbuatur. Is infans a tirunculo, farris superficie [13]quasi ad in- 7
noxios ictus provocato, cæcis occultisque vulneribus occiditur: hujus, proh nefas! sitienter sanguinem lambunt, hujus certatim membra dispertiunt, hac

saltem honesto aliquo mortis genere adfectus est? cur potissimum cruce? cur infami genere supplicii? quod etiam homine libero, quamvis nocente, videatur indignum. Cf. cap. 16, 1; 30, 1. *Ceremonias fabulatur*, sc. esse; cf. infra cap. xii, § 4: jam non adorandæ sed subeundæ cruces.

[11] *congruentia tribuit altaria:* id est, patibula et cruces, quas colant, et in quas, ex merito, tanquam scelerati tollantur. CELLAR.

[12] *de initiandis tirunculis.* "Calumniæ ortum dedisse videtur eucharistia, quam in rem insignis est locus inter Irenæi *Fragm.* p. 469, *ed. Oxon.*; Χριστιανῶν γὰρ κατηχουμένων δούλους Ἕλληνες συλλάβόντες, εἶτα μαθεῖν τι παρὰ τούτων δῆθεν ἀπόρρητον περὶ Χριστιανῶν ἀναγκάζοντες, οἱ δοῦλοι οὗτοι μὴ ἔχοντες πῶς τὸ τοῖς ἀναγκάζουσι καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐρεῖν, πάροσον ἤκουον τῶν δεσποτῶν τὴν θείαν μετάληψιν αἷμα καὶ σάρκα εἶναι Χριστοῦ, αὐτοὶ νομίζοντες τῷ ὄντι αἷμα καὶ σάρκα εἶναι τοῦτο ἐξεῖπον τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσι. Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ὡς αὐτοχρῆμα τοῦτο τελεῖσθαι Χριστιανοῖς, καὶ δὴ τοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἐξεπόμπευον." DAVIES. Vide Balduin. *dissert.* § xxii.: F. M. *Notes on the Gospel and Acts;* Vol. I. p. 64: Cave, *Primit. Christian.* Part II. ch. iv. p. 78. The charge of ἀνθρωποβορία and Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, monstrous and incredible as it seems, is mentioned by most of the Apologists; Athenagoras *legat. pro Christ.* p. 34, cap. xxvii.; Theophilus *ad Autol.* lib. III. § 4; Tatian. *Orat. ad Græc.* § 26; Justin. M. *Apolog.* 1, c. 26; *Dialog. contra Tryph.* p. 227; "Mr Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 631," remarks Lord Hailes, "has refuted this charge, aud many others of a like nature with much eloquence and energy of reasoning. In few and forcible words he has comprehended what the Christian Apologists either said, or might have said on the subject." But he takes exception to the historian's assertion that the Christian Apologists in attributing to various sects of heretics the same bloody sacrifices, which were so falsely ascribed to the orthodox believers, betrayed the common cause of religion. He says that Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, whom Gibbon quotes

fœderantur hostia, hac conscientia sceleris [14]ad CAP. IX.
8 silentium mutuum pignerantur. Hæc sacra sacrilegiis omnibus tetriora.

Et [15]de convivio notum est: passim omnes loquuntur: id etiam Cirtensis nostri testatur oratio. Ad epulas solemni die coeunt, [16]cum omnibus, liberis, sororibus, matribus, sexus omnis homines, et omnis
9 ætatis. Illic post multas epulas, ubi convivium caluit et [17]incestæ libidinis, ebrietatis fervor exarsit, canis qui candelabro nexus est, jactu offulæ ultra

in support of his assertion, merely mention the report; that Eusebius certainly does aver it of the Gnostics, but that his testimony of itself, is much too frail to support such a statement. Cf. Kortholt. *Pag. Obtr.* p. 162. *seqq.*

[13] *farris superficie etc.* "The infant is murdered by unperceived and unsuspected wounds, dealt by the hand of the novice, who is induced by the covering of meal to prick several holes in it, thinking them harmless."

[14] *ad silentium mutuum pignerantur.* Catiline and his associates, as we are told by Sallust, *Catil.* cap. 22, employed human blood, as "pignus conjurationis, quo inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii." Thus the Pagans attributed to the Christians practices, which really existed in their own secret societies and mysteries, as is equally evident from the next charge against them, if compared with the expressions of Livy, Lib. xxxix. cap. 13, in his account of the Bacchanalia. See below, Ch. xxx. 5.

[15] *de convivio notum est.* For an account of the Christian ἀγάπαι see Tertullian, *Apolog.* ch. 39. Pliny, speaking of this custom, testifies that they met "ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium." See Cave, *Prim. Christ.* Part II. ch. v. By *Cirtensis nostri*, who is spoken of subsequently, ch. xxxi, under the name of Fronto, is probably meant Cornelius Fronto, a native of Cirta in Numidia. He is not to be confounded with those named by Juvenal, *Sat.* I. 12; Martial, *Epigr.* I. 56; Plin. *Ep.* xi. 2: but he is the same who is more than once spoken of by A. Gellius, *Noct. Attic.*, the preceptor of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (vide Eutrop. *Histor. Roman.* Lib. viii. c. 1) and Lucius Verus. Eumenes, *Panegyr. Constant.* 14, calls him, *Romanæ eloquentiæ non secundum sed alterum decus.* A great portion of his works, not however the one alluded to by Cæcilius, were discovered, written on a palimpsest in the Ambrosian Library, by Angelo Mai, and published at Milan, A. 1815: q. v. p. 366.

[16] [*cum omnibus:* fortasse conjugibus. J. GR.]

[17] *incestæ libidinis, ebrietatis*

CAP. IX. spatium lineæ, qua vinctus est, ad impetum et saltum provocatur: sic everso et exstincto conscio lumine, [18]impudentibus tenebris nexus infandæ cupiditatis involvunt per incertum sortis: et, si non omnes opera, conscientia tamen pariter incesti; [19]quoniam voto universorum appetitur, quidquid accidere potest in actu singulorum.

Multa prætereo consulto: nam et hæc nimis 1
CAP. X. multa sunt, quæ aut omnia, aut pleraque omnium

fervor exarsit. I see no cause, why the MS. reading should not be received, if we take *ebrietatis, libidinis* as an asyndetous construction; see Ch. i. not. 5. Of the various conjectural readings proposed, perhaps that of Hildebrand (ad *Apulej. Metam.* p. 101) is the simplest and best, viz. *ebriolatis*. Cf. Juv. *Sat.* VI. 314; *ib.* 299:

quid enim Venus ebria curat?

[18] *impudentibus tenebris. Impudentes* vocat *tenebras* quod iis pudor exuatur. DAVIES, who quotes Ovid. *Amor.* VI. 59:

Nox et amor, vinumque nihil moderabile suadent.
Illa *pudore vacat:* Liber amorque metu.

For an illustration of the whole passage comp. Tertullian. *Apol.* cap. vii.: "et post convivium incesto, quod eversorses luminum canes, lenones scilicet, *tenebrarum et libidinum impiarum inverecundia* procurent;" and c. viii., where he exclaims in the bitterest irony, "discumbens dinumera loca, ubi mater, ubi soror; nota diligenter, ut cum tenebræ ceciderint caninæ, non erres. Piaculum enim admiseris, nisi incestum feceris."

[19] *quoniam voto universorum etc.:* "since whatever may be brought about by chance in the case of any of them, is wished for and intended by the whole company."

Ch. X. [1] *occultare,* "to prevent any thing being seen, by keeping it covered"; *abscondere,* "by removing the thing itself." Döderlein, *Synonym.* p. 35.

[2] *cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla?* We find the same reproach urged against the Christians by Celsus, *ap. Origen.* Lib. VIII. § 17, p. 389; μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Κέλσος φησὶν ἡμᾶς βωμοὺς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νεὼς ἱδρύσθαι φεύγειν· ἐπεὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἡμῖν ἀφανοῦς καὶ ἀπορρήτου κοινωνίας οἴεται εἶναι ξύνθημα; and by a later apologist, Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* VI. 1. But it is certain that though the Christians held their assemblies in private houses (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. xvi. 19, 20), yet as early as the close of the second century we find mention of buildings specially set apart for worship, cf. Tertullian *de Idolatr.* ch. vii. Cæcilius therefore must be understood to say that they had no temples, according to the heathen notion of a temple, a cloister of deities represented by statues, (Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.* Part I. ch. i.; August. *de Civ. Dei,* vii. 33;

vera declarat ipsius pravæ religionis obscuritas. CAP. X.
2 Cur etenim [1]occultare et abscondere quidquid illud colunt magnopere nituntur, quum honesta semper publico gaudeant, scelera secreta sint? [2]cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra, numquam palam loqui, numquam libere congregari, nisi illud quod colunt et interprimunt aut punien-
3 dum est aut pudendum? unde autem, vel quis ille aut ubi deus unicus, [3]solitarius, destitutus;

Octav. cap. vii. § 8). Hence it was that they purposely abstained from using the word "temple" for the greater part of the first 300 years, but called their places of divine worship, "Ecclesiæ," *οἶκοι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, κυριακὰ, εὐκτήρια,* "conventicula." See Cave's *Primitive Christ.* Pt. i. ch. vi. p. 128; Baudouin, *Dissert.* c. xv; Lindner remarks on this passage; "Adeoque de sacrificio missæ iis temporibus altum silentium!"

numquam palam loqui. "Dicebat antea c. viii. § 5; *in publicum muta.* Nempe quia in locis semotis conveniebant," says Heraldus; "cujus rei rationem reddit Celsus ipse ap. *Origenem* Lib. i. [p. 5]; *οὐ μάτην Χριστιανοὶ κρύφα τὰ ἀρέσκοντα ποιοῦσιν ἅτε διωθούμενοι τὴν ἐπηρτημένην αὐτοῖς δίκην τοῦ θανάτου.* But Cæcilius appears also to be alluding to the habitual reserve maintained by the Christians (*τὸ κρύφιον τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ*, Origen. *l. c.* p. 7) concerning the sacraments and mysteries of their religion, on which subject Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* Lib. vii. c. 26, says; "doctrinam nostram defendere publice atque asserere non solemus, Deo jubente, ut quieti ac solentes arcanum ejus in abdito atque intra nostram conscientiam teneamus; nec adversus istos vere profanos, qui non discendi, sed arguendi atque illudendi gratia, inclementer DEUM ac religionem ejus impugnant, pertinaci contentione certemus. Abscondi enim tegique mysterium quam fidelissime oportet, maxime a nobis qui nomen fidei gerimus." Compare Origen. *l. l.* § 7: and see Kortholt, *Paganus Obtrectator,* cap. iix. § 2, p. 58, foll. cap. xvii. p. 149 sqq.; Tzschirner, *Apolog.* p. 220: also Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. i. § i, 3 p. 124, *ed. Bohn.*

[3] *solitarius:* Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* i. vii. 4: tanquam nos, quia unum esse dicimus, desertum ac *solitarium* esse dicamus: where Bünemann remarks; "Ita Deum singularem contumeliose vocabant. Alia de hac voce *solitarius* contra hæreticos habet Hilarius Lib. iv. *de Trinit.* f. 86, sqq." *Non saltem Romana superstitio noverunt:* "not even Roman fanaticism acknowledges." Vide supra, cap. vi. § 4. *Non saltem* = ne —— quidem, vide cap. xii. § 1. For the meaning of *superstitio,* see Ch. ix. *note* 6; and compare the remarks of Neander, *Church Hist.* Vol. i. § i 3 p. 122, foll. *ed. Bohn.*

CAP. X. quem non gens libera, non regna, non saltem Romana superstitio noverunt? [4]Judæorum sola et misera gentilitas unum et ipsi deum, sed palam, sed templis, aris, victimis, cæremoniisque coluerunt: cujus adeo nulla vis nec potestas est, ut sit [5]Romanis hominibus cum sua sibi natione captivus. [6]At etiam Christiani, quanta monstra, quæ portenta confingunt? Deum illum suum, quem [7]nec ostendere possunt nec videre, [8]in omnium mores, actus omnium, verba denique et occultas cogitationes diligenter inquirere, discurrentem scilicet atque

As for their god, what strange and extravagant theories do they invent about his Being and Attributes!

[4] *Judæorum gentilitas: gentilitas* hoc in loco gentem denotat. Tertullianus *de anima* c. 30. DAVIES. So *humanitas* is used for "humanum genus," Ch. viii. § 2; xxvi. § 10.

[5] *Romanis hominibus.* The MS. reading *nominibus* seems to be in favour of the reading numinibus, for it appears that in many passages of Arnobius in the same MS. the transcriber has made the same mistake of writing nomen for *numen.* But *hominibus* gives more point to the sentence, being more sarcastical and insulting. [*Captivus:* ita loquebantur de suis, Liv. III. cap. 17. J. GR.]

[6] *At etiam Christiani, quanta monstra.* The MS. reading is, as I can testify from personal examination, *ac etiam Christiani quantā nra,* only *quantā* has been altered *a manu sec.* into quamtā. For the first word, I think, we ought to read *at,* which all Editors have hitherto wrongly assigned to the MS.: on the confusion of the two particles, see Hand, *Tursell.* i. p. 450 and p. 502: and for the meaning of *at etiam,* the Index, *s. v. at.* As to the two last words, they are plainly an abbreviation of *quantam nostram:* but since these words, as they stand, admit of no possible interpretation: the question is, what is the most probable conjectural emendation of them. Rigalt's is too harsh Latin, else it yields a plausible sense: he proposes to read *qua in tam nostra,* i. e. qua sunt in P. R. provincias, in tam nostra diffusi. Others propose, *quænam monstra, quam tamen naturam,* or *quæ contra naturam:* but the reading which I have given is a nearer approximation to that of the MS. than any other, and at the same time it is the most suited to the context.

[7] *nec ostendere.* Postulatum ethnicorum de Christianis. Augustinus in *Psalm.* xli. fol. 255; "Si paganus mihi diceret: *ubi est deus tuus?* Nonne illi et ego possum dicere: *ubi est deus tuus?* Deum quippe suum digito ostendit. Intendit enim digitum ad aliquem lapidem et dicit: *Ecce ibi est deus:* invenit ille, quod ostenderet oculis carnis; ego autem non, quasi non habeo, quem ostendam; sed non

ubique præsentem: molestum illum volunt, inquie- CAP. X.
6 tum, impudenter etiam curiosum: siquidem adstat factis omnibus, locis omnibus intererrat: quum nec singulis inservire possit [9]per universa districtus, nec universis sufficere in singulis occupatus.

7 Quid? quod [10]toto orbi et ipsi mundo cum sideribus suis minantur incendium, ruinam moliuntur? quasi aut naturæ divinis legibus constitutus æternus ordo turbetur; aut rupto elementorum omnium fœdere et cœlesti compage divisa moles ista, [11]qua continetur et cingitur, subruatur. Nec hac CAP. XI.

Then again, they look for the destruction of the universe by fire!

habet ille oculos quibus ostendam." LINDNER. Cf. Lactant. *de Orig. Err.* cap. VI. § 3: "nullam religionem putant, ubicumque simulacra non fulserint:" Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* I. § 1. p. 5: infra ch. xxxii. § 4: Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. i. p. 98.

[8] *in omnium mores etc.* Cæcilius here relapses into his Epicurean sentiments (v. ch. vii.) and so ridicules the notion of Divine government. The whole passage is imitated from Cicero *de Nat. Deor.*, where Velleius says ironically: "Itaque imposuistis cervicibus nostris sempiternum Dominum, quem dies et noctes timeremus; quis enim non timeat omnia providentem...*curiosum* et plenum negotii Deum." Comp. Tertullian *de testim. animæ*, cap. 2. *Actus* is for actiones, as in Ch. xxxii. § 7; Ch. xxxvi. § 1. [*Inquirere;* v. cap. xxxii. § 9, ubi egregie rejicit hoc verbum et aliud supponit, sc. interest, J. GR.]

[9] *per universa districtus.* MS. *destrictus.* The notion of *stringo* is "to hold fast:" and he is said to be *districtus*, who is so held by *several* things, as to be unable to turn one way or the other. See Long on Cicero, *Orat. Verr.* p. 59.

[10] *toto*, for toti. So Propert. *Eleg.* III. 9. 57. *Minantur incendium*, i. e. prædicunt; cf. Burm. ad *Phædr.* IV. fab. 22. Quod quemadmodum verum est de Christianis, conf. Lactantius, VII. 14—20; ita non minus de gentilibus. Ovidius *Metam.* I. 256, de Jove:

Esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur, affore tempus,
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia cœli
Ardeat, et mundi moles operosa laboret.

LINDNER.

[The Stoics, Cicer. *Acad. Quæst.* IV. 38, believed in a general conflagration, only κατὰ καιροὺς not εἰσάπαξ; Tatian, *Or. ad Gr.* c. 25. § 6.] Basil. *Hexaem. Homil.* I.; οἱ δὲ καὶ πλάτυν γέλωτα καταχέουσιν ἡμῶν περὶ συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, καὶ παλιγγενεσίας αἰῶνος ἀπαγγελλόντων. HERALDUS.

[11] *qua continetur et cingitur.* Ita MS.: continetur ea mole totus orbis et ipse mundus: Davis. *quæ continetur et cingitur*, sc. aëre. Meurs. *qua continemur et cingimur*,

CAP. XI. furiosa opinione contenti aniles fabulas adstruunt et adnectunt. [1]Renasci se ferunt post mortem et cineres et favillas: et nescio qua fiducia mendaciis suis invicem credunt: putes eos jam revixisse. 2 Anceps malum et gemina dementia! cœlo et astris, quæ sic relinquimus ut invenimus, interitum denunciare: sibi [2]mortuis, extinctis, qui sicut nascimur, et interimus, æternitatem repromittere. [3]Inde 3 videlicet et exsecrantur rogos, et damnant ignium sepulturas: quasi non omne corpus, etsi flammis

And not satisfied with this extravagant conceit, they pretend that they shall rise again to life, after death; and promise themselves an eternity of happiness as a reward for their virtue, others of misery, as a punishment for their unrighteousness.

non male. Tertull. *Apolog.* c. xvii. LINDNER. (adde Arnob. *adv. Nat.* I. 2, machinæ hujus et molis, qua universi tegimur et continemur inclusi).

Ch. XI. [1] *Renasci se ferunt post mortem et cineres et favillas.* [Combusti sc. ex sententia judicis. J. GR.] "They pretend that after death, "after their bodies have been re-"duced to cinders and ashes, they "are born again; and with unac-"countable assurance they credit "each other in their own impos-"tures." So Lucian, *Peregr.* p. 600; πεπείκασιν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀθάνατοι ἔσεσθαι καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον; and Origen *adv. Cels.* Lib. I. p. 7, speaks of τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως μυστήριον as γελώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων. For the resurrection of the body, and consequently the identity of man in a future state, the *fiducia Christianorum*, (Tertullian. *de resurr. carnis* I.) was a notion so strange to the heathen, that it seemed absolutely impossible: see the passages quoted by Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. XI. *note* p. 691 *Cambr. Ed.* The following passage from Origen, will serve admirably to shew the objections with which this doctrine was assailed; Ἠλίθιον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ νομίζειν, ἐπειδὰν ὁ Θεὸς ὥσπερ μάγειρος ἐπενέγκῃ τὸ πῦρ, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πᾶν ἐξοπτηθήσεσθαι γένος· αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους διαμενεῖν, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ζῶντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάλαι πότε ἀποθανόντας, αὐταῖς σαρξὶν ἐκειναῖς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀναδύντας, ἀτεχνῶς σκωλήκων ἡ ἐλπίς. ποία γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ποθήσειεν ἔτι σῶμα σεσηπός; (ὁπότε μήδ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα καὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐνίοις κοινὸν ἐστίν· καὶ τὸ σφόδρα μιαρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπόπτυστον ἅμα καὶ ἀδύνατον ἀποφαίνουσι·) ποῖον γὰρ σῶμα πάντῃ διαφθαρὲν οἷόν τε ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φύσιν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐξ ἧς ἐλύθη τὴν πρώτην σύστασιν; οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἀποκρίνασθαι καταφεύγουσιν εἰς ἀτοπωτάτην ἀναχώρησιν, ὅτι πᾶν δύνατον τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε τὰ αἰσχρὰ ὁ Θεὸς δύναται οὐδὲ τὰ παρὰ φύσιν βούλεται· οὐδ', ἂν σύ τι ἐπιθυμήσῃς κατὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ μοχθηρίαν βδελυρὸν, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦτο δυνήσεται, καὶ χρὴ πιστεύειν εὐθὺς, ὅτι ἔσται. οὐ γὰρ τῆς πλημμελοῦς

subtrahatur, [4]annis tamen et ætatibus in terram resolvatur; nec intersit, [5]utrum feræ diripiant, an maria consumant, an humus contegat, an flamma subducat; quum cadaveribus [6]omnis sepultura, si sentiunt, pœna sit: si non sentiunt, ipsa conficiendi celeritate medicina. Hoc errore decepti beatam sibi ut bonis et perpetem vitam mortuis pollicentur; ceteris ut injustis pœnam sempiternam. CAP. XI.

Multa ad hæc suppetunt, ni festinet oratio. Injustos ipsos, [7]magis nec laboro, jam docui: quam- *Similar instances of their vagaries might be mul-*

ὀρέξεως, οὐδὲ τῆς πεπλανημένης ἀκοσμίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας φύσεως Θεὸς ἐστιν ἀρχηγέτης· καὶ ψυχῆς μὲν αἰώνιον βιοτὸν δύναιτ' ἂν παρασχεῖν· νέκυες δέ, φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, κοπρίων ἐκβλητότεροι. σάρκα δὴ, μεστὴν ὧν οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν καλὸν, αἰώνιον ἀποφῆναι παραλόγως οὔτε βουλήσεται ὁ Θεὸς οὔτε δυνήσεται· contra Cels. Lib. v. p. 240. Compare Augustine in *Psalm.* lxxxviii.

[2] *mortuis, extinctis.* See note on ch. iv. § 7. *Repromittere* is equivalent to the simple "promittere."

[3] *inde videlicet.* Ironice, ut Lactantius, i. iv. 2: Videlicet quia de uno Deo præconium faciunt aut insani aut fallaces fuerunt. LINDNER. *Execrantur rogos:* See, however, Grotius, *de J. B.* cap. xix. § 2. 3. The reason why the heathens burnt the bodies of the Christian martyrs was to deprive them of the hope of a resurrection. See the letter from the Churches at Vienne and Lyons, ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. cap. i.: Neander, *Ch. Hist.* i. p. 158.

[4] *annis et ætatibus,* i. e. cum *annis et ætatibus. In terram resolvatur:* Gronovius reads *auram:* but needlessly, see the passages quoted in Grotius *de Jure Belli,* cap. xix. § 2. 2. The force of the negative before *intersit* is cancelled by the preceding, *quasi non.*

[5] *utrum feræ diripiant:* velut apud Hyrcanos, de quibus Justinus, 41, 3, 5: "Sepultura vulgo aut avium aut canum laniatus est." Le Nourry, *Appar.* cap. ii. *Art.* vi. says that this is an imitation of Seneca: "ille divinus animus egressurus hominem quo receptaculum suum conferatur, ignis illud exurat, an feræ distrahant, an terra contegat, non magis ad se judicat pertinere, quam secundas ad editum infantem." *Epist.* xcii.

[6] *omnis sepultura. Sepultura* hic opponitur condituræ cadaverum per aromata et unguenta. *Pœna,* pro cruciatu, malo. LINDNER. Translate: "If they have any sensation, interment of any sort is painful; and if they have none, it is salutary (i. e. to the living), simply because it despatches the bodies the soonest."

[7] *magis nec laboro,* sc. docere: "I have already proved (and I bestow no farther pains to prove) that

CAP. XI. quam etsi justos darem, culpam tamen vel innocentiam fato tribui sententiis plurimorum et hæc vestra consensio est: nam quidquid agimus, ut alii 6 fato, ita vos [8]deo dicitis: [9]sic sectæ vestræ non spontaneos cupere sed electos. Igitur iniquum judicem fingitis, qui sortem in hominibus puniat, non voluntatem.

tiplied, but I am content with having proved them unrighteous: and, even conceding the contrary, yet on their own shewing, virtue and vice depend, not on the will of the agent, but on destiny.

Vellem tamen sciscitari, utrumne sine corpore, 7 an cum corporibus? et corporibus quibus, [10]ipsisne an innovatis resurgatur? Sine corpore? [11]Hoc, quod sciam, neque mens neque anima nec vita est. Ipso corpore? Sed jam ante dilapsum est. Alio corpore? Ergo homo novus nascitur, non prior ille reparatur.

However I am curious to know, what is the nature *of your ideal* resurrection.

they (*and not we*) are the wicked." Further on, *sententiis* is to be construed with *consensio*.

[8] *deo dicitis*, for "addicitis;" "you ascribe to your god." So Cicero *pro Flacco:* doti omnem pecuniam *dixerat;* Plautus *Aulul.* IX. 4, 14: nempe huic dimidium *dicit*.

[9] *sic sectæ vestræ non spontaneos cupere*, sc. homines. *Cupere alicui*, and *velle alicui* are used in good classical authors for favere: Cicero, *Epist. Fam.* II. 15; Cæsari honestissime *cupies;* Cæsar *Bell. Gall.* Lib. I. c. 18; favere et *cupere* Helvetiis; Terent. *Andr.* Act V. Sc. iv. 2; *cupere* Glycerio. See a note of Salmasius on Tertullian *de Pallio* cap. i.: Romanis deus maluit.

[10] *ipsisne*, i. e. iisdem. Cæcilius here puts the question just as we find it put in St Paul's time, 1 Cor. XV. 35: ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις· πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροὶ καὶ ποίῳ σώματι ἔρχονται;

[11] *hoc* (i. e. sine corpore resurgere) *neque mens neque anima nec vita est.* Sic loquitur quia nihil animo potuit concipere, quod non erat corporatum. Eodem modo Velleius apud Ciceronem Lib. I. *Nat. Deor.* c. xii.: "Quod vero sine corpore ullo Deum vult esse ut Græci dicunt ἀσώματον, id quale esse possit, intelligi non potest: careat enim sensu necesse est, careat etiam prudentia, careat voluptate;" et cap. xiii. DAVIES.

[12] *et tamen tanta ætas abiit.* For this use of *et tamen* compare ch. 36, § 7; ch. 37, § 2. We find this second argument of Cæcilius against the resurrection of the body mentioned in several of the Apologists: e. g. Justin. M. *Apolog.* II. p. 65: διὰ τὸ μήπω ἐωρακέναι ὑμᾶς ἀναστάντα νεκρὸν, ἀπιστία ἔχει: Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* I. 13; ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀρνεῖσθαί σε νεκροὺς ἐγείρεσθαι· φῄς γὰρ, δεῖξόν μοι κἂν ἕνα ἐγερθέντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἵνα ἰδὼν πιστεύσω. Lactantius, *Div.*

8 [12]Et tamen tanta ætas abiit, secula innumera fluxe- CAP. XI.
runt, quis unus ullus ab inferis vel [13]Protesilai sorte
remeavit, horarum saltem permisso commeatu,
9 vel ut exemplo crederemus? Omnia ista figmenta
malesanæ opinionis, et inepta solatia a poetis
fallacibus in dulcedine carminis lusa, a vobis [14]ni-
mirum credulis in deum vestrum turpiter reformata
sunt.

[1]Nec saltem de præsentibus capitis experimen- CAP. XII.
tum, quam vos irritæ pollicitationis cassa vota de- *Your experience of the present ought to disenchant you of your vain and delusive hopes of the future.*
cipiant: quid post mortem impendeat, miseri dum
2 adhuc vivitis æstimate. Ecce pars vestrum et ma-
jor, melior, ut dicitis, egetis, algetis, ope, re, fame,

Inst. VII. 22, 10, copies Minucius' language; Nobis illud opponitur... tot jam secula transierunt: quis unquam unus ab inferis resurrexerit, ut exemplo ejus fieri posse credamus? *Horarum saltem:* sc. aliquot. Intelligit autem tres horas. Ellipsis Justino imprimis familiaris Lib. V. 5. 4: XXXVIII. 1. 6: XXXIX. 2. 6. LINDNER. *Commeatus* properly implies the *actus* or *copia meandi.* It is then used for *quicquid commeat* e.g. for a 'convoy.' In its sense of *meandi copia* it came to mean leave of absence granted to a soldier, and thus generally an 'extension of a limited time.' Woodham, *Tertull.* p. 114. By the early Christians, who adopted several military terms into the phraseology of the church, e. g. "*sacramentum,*" "*symbolum,*" "*stationes:*" (Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 425), the word was used to signify "respite from danger whether of persecution or pestilence or death." *Vel ut exemplo,* for *ut vel,* "that we might have only the guarantee of an instance (putting other considerations out of the question) to confirm our belief." See note, Ch. XXVIII. § 8.

[13] *Protesilai sorte.* See Index I. *s. v.*

[14] *nimirum credulis.* "All these creations of a crazed fancy have been clumsily reshapen by you, so simple indeed is your *faith,* and fathered on your God." *Nimirum* is evidently here used ironically, Hand, *Tursell.* Vol. IV. p. 206. *Credulis* is a sneer on the Christian name of "οἱ πιστεύοντες," "fideles," qui nomen fidei geritis, Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* Lib. VII. c. 26. See the passages quoted by Kortholt, *Pagan. Obtrect.* cap. xi. p. 86, sqq.; Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. I. pp. 97, 227. *In dulcedine carminis. In* marks the instrument. See Index *s. v.*

Ch. XII. [1] *Nec saltem,* i. e. et ne — quidem, as above, ch. 10. § 3, see the Index, s. v. *saltem.*

Ope, re laboratis. Ope laborare est "inopem esse"; *re laborare* est "re familiari carere."

CAP. XII. laboratis: [2]et Deus patitur, dissimulat; non vult aut non potest opitulari suis: ita aut invalidus aut iniquus est. Tu qui immortalitatem postumam 3 somnias, quum [3]periculo quateris, quum febribus ureris, quum dolore laceraris, nondum conditionem tuam sentis? nondum agnoscis fragilitatem? invitus miser infirmitatis argueris nec fateris? Sed 4 omitto communia: ecce vobis minæ, supplicia, tormenta, [4]et jam non adorandæ, sed subeundæ cruces: ignes etiam, quos et prædicitis et timetis: ubi

For to say nothing of hardships, common to you with others, you are forced to undergo torments, crucifixion, and burning. Where is this god, that he cannot serve you in this life if he can do so in that to come?

[2] *et Deus patitur.* *Et* is for *et tamen*, as frequently. Comp. below, Ch. xxvi. § 1; xxviii. 8; xxxv. 6, and see Buenem. *Lactant.* III. xi. 8. Hand, *Tursell.* Vol. ii. p. 496. The objection here put was constantly in the mouth of the heathen: compare Lactantius, *de Justit.* cap. xxi. § 7: "Cur ergo Deus ille singularis, ille magnus, hæc fieri patitur, nec cultores suos aut vindicat aut tuetur?" Tertullian. *Apolog.* c. xli.: "siquidem et Deus vester patiatur propter profanos etiam cultores suos lædi:" Arnobius *adv. nat.* II. 76; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 2; *Dem. Evang.* x. 8; Clemens Alexandr. *Stromm.* IV. p. 504, *εἰ κήδεται ὑμῶν ὁ θεὸς, τί δήποτε διώκεσθε καὶ φονεύεσθε; ἢ αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς τοῦτο ἐκδίδωσι*; Augustin. *de Civ. Dei*, I. 29.

[3] *periculo:* Ita MS. Many editors however have introduced into their text the reading *querquero*, "ague," as Festus *s. v.* explains it, 'febrem frigidam et cum horrore trementem.' *Querquera* occurs in Lucilius, and Arnobius *adv. Nat.* I. 48; *querquerum* in Apul. *Apol.* c. 35. For the sense of *miser* see xxvii. note 20.

[4] *et jam non:* so below, cap. xxi. § 12: hæc *jam non* sunt sacra: tormenta sunt. v. Hand, *Tursell.* Vol. iii. p. 131, seqq. *Non adorandæ:* "crosses destined not to be the object of your worship any more, but the instrument of your punishment." The allusion is to the *σταυρολατρεία*, objected to the Christians, on which see Ch. ix. § 5; xxix. § 7; and comp. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xvi.: qui crucis nos religiosos (i. e. crucis cultores) putat: *ad. Nat.* I. cap. 12.

[5] *vestrique dominantur.* [Tertull. *Apolog.* cap. 26: dominaturi ejus. J. GR.] Horace has the same construction, *Od.* III. 30, 2:

primus agrestium
Regnavit populorum;

Vide Bünemann on Lactant. *de Ira Dei*, cap. xiv. § 3. *not. h.*

[6] *non spectacula visitis.* One of the marks of a Christian in the eyes of the heathen was abstinence from the shows. Tertullian *de Spect.* cap. xxiv.: hinc vel maxime intelligunt Christianum factum de repudio spectaculorum. Cf. *Apolog.* cap. xxxviii.: 'spectaculis 'vestris in tantum renuntiamus, 'in quantum originibus eorum, quas 'scimus de superstitione conceptas. 'Nihil est nobis cum insania circi,

deus ille, qui subvenire reviviscentibus potest, vi- CAP. XII.
5 ventibus non potest? nonne Romani sine vestro deo imperant, regnant, fruuntur orbe toto, [5]vestrique dominantur? vos vero suspensi interim atque solliciti, honestis voluptatibus abstinetis: [6]non spectacula visitis, [7]non pompis interestis; [8]convivia publica absque vobis; sacra certamina, [9]præcerptos ci-
6 bos, et delibatos altaribus potus abhorretis. Sic reformidatis deos, quos negatis. [10]Non floribus caput nectitis, [11]non corpus odoribus honestatis: re-

The Romans, on the contrary, without the help of your god, enjoy the empire of the world whilst you, full of fear and uneasiness, deny yourselves even lawful pleasures.

'cum impudicitia theatri, cum atrocitate arenæ, cum xysti vanitate.' It appears, however, that all Christians were not agreed on the propriety of renouncing theatrical exhibitions: for Tertullian composed his treatise *de Spectaculis* with the view of proving that the habit of frequenting them was inconsistent with the profession of Christianity, inasmuch as they were founded in idolatry, see particularly cap. v. Compare also *adv. Marcion.* Lib. I. cap. xxvii.; *de pudicit.* cap. vii.: Tatian *or. contr. Græc.* p. 96, *ed. Otto;* Theoph. *ad Autol.* Lib. III. cap. 15, (p. 178, *ed. Humphry*); Lactantius *de vero cultu*, cap. xx. § 9.

[7] *non pompis interestis*, "you are not present in any solemn processions:" because the images of the gods were carried about in them: *de Spectac.* cap. xxiii. Cellarius' remark is: "quibus solemni formula "in baptismo renuntiaverant. Ter"tullianus *de Corona* cap. iii.: *Ut a* "*baptismate ingrediar, aquam adi*"*turi, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius* "*in Ecclesia sub antistitis manu* "*contestamur nos renunciare diabolo* "*et pompae et angelis ejus.*"

[8] *convivia publica.* The public festivals appointed on the anniversary of the Emperor's accession (*natales*), or at the celebration of a triumph. 'Huic probro egregie respondet Tertullianus *Apolog.* cap. 35;' Wower. Comp. also cap. xxxix.

[9] *præcerptos cibos:* εἰδωλόθυτα, immolaticia, cibos, ex quibus diis pro more erat prælibatum. Tertullianus *de Spectac.* cap. xiii.: *non sacrificamus neque de sacrificato edimus;* quia, qui edebant, ut Ambrosius ait in 1 *Corinth.* viii. comm. 7, *cum veneratione simulacri manducabant de sacrificatis.* Cellarius. *Delibatos potus;* 'oblations of wine poured upon the altars.'

[10] *non floribus caput nectitis:* this the primitive Christians refused to do, partly from the wearing of garlands being connected with many heathenish festivals; partly from a notion that this use of flowers was absolutely unnatural. See Tertull. *Apol.* c. xlii., and the tract *de corona militis*, where the argument is carried out; also Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* Lib. II. c. 8: στεφάνων δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ μύρων χρῆσις οὐκ ἀναγκαία· ἐξοκείλει γὰρ εἰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ῥαθυμίας.

[11] *non odoribus honestatis:* Tertull. *Apol.* c. lxii.: thura non emimus.

CAP. XII. servatis unguenta funeribus: [12]coronas etiam sepulchris denegatis, pallidi, trepidi, misericordia digni, [13]sed nostrorum deorum. Ita nec resurgitis miseri, nec interim vivitis.

Forbear then to pry into the hidden things of nature, and the destiny of the Universe:

Proinde si quid sapientiæ vobis, aut verecundiæ 7
est, [14]desinite cœli plagas et mundi fata et secreta rimari: satis est [15]pro pedibus aspicere, maxime indoctis, impolitis, rudibus, agrestibus: quibus non est datum [16]intelligere civilia, multo magis denega-
CAP. XIII. tum est disserere divina. Quanquam, si philoso- 1

Si Arabiæ queruntur, sciant Sabæi, pluris et carioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quam diis fumigandis. LINDNER.

[12] *coronas etiam sepulcris denegatis:* Primi Christiani abstinuerunt hoc ritu, ne quid commune cum nationibus haberent. Pagani enim sepulcra sertis ornabant. Propertius, Lib. III. *Eleg.* XVI:

Adferet huc unguenta mihi, sertoque sepulcrum
Ornabit, custos ad mea busta sedens.

Et vetus poeta in *Copa:*

Quid cineri ingrato servas bene olentia serta?
Anne coronato vis lapide ista tegi?

Hinc est quod inter crimina Christianis objecta, Justinus Martyr, *Apolog.* II. p. 68 refert, μὴ τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσι χοὰς καὶ κνίσας, καὶ ἐν ταφαῖς (ut *Meursius* emendat) στεφάνους καὶ θυσίας φέρειν. Posteriores autem recesserunt ab hac simplicitate. Prudentius, *Cathemer. hymno* X. exsequiarum extremo:

Nos tecta fovebimus ossa
Violis et fronde frequenti:
Titulumque et frigida saxa
Liquido spargemus odore. CELLAR.

[13] *sed nostrorum deorum.* The construction is *misericordia digni deorum, sed nostrorum; "ours,* because your own God cannot help you." *Pallidi, trepidi:* So Lucian, *Philopatr.* § 23, Tom. III. p. 612, *ed. Hemsterh.*, giving an account of the Christian assembly into which he tells us Critias was brought to be made a proselyte, describes them as a company of persons ἐπικεκυφότες and κατωχριώμενοι. Vide Cave, *Prim. Chr.* Part II. ch. 4.

[14] *desinite cœli plagas etc.* Quod Christiani ex divinis literis de interitu mundi prædicebant et de æterna ac cœlesti vita. Imitatur criminator poetæ verba apud Ciceronem de *Divinat.* Lib. II. cap. XIII.; *Quod est ante pedes nemo spectat: Cœli scrutantur plagas.* CELLARIUS. So Lucian *l. c.* nicknames the Christian ἀἰθέριοι and ἀἰθεροβατοῦντες.

[15] *pro pedibus,* h. e. quæ *pro pedibus* sunt: compare the expressions *rem longe, supra repetere,* for 'ex iis quæ *longe* distant, *supra* sunt.'

[16] *intelligere civilia:* Vide Kortholt, *Pagan. Obtr.* c. XX. p. 176, de ἀχρηστίᾳ Christianorum; Cave, *Prim. Christ.* Pt. I. ch. 3; Tertullian, *Apol.* XLII.: sed alio quoque injuriarum titulo postulamur, et in-

phandi libido est, Socratem sapientiæ principem, CAP. XIII.
[1]quisque vestrum tantus est, si potuerit, imitetur. *and, if you must needs philosophize, do so with the caution of* SOCRATES.
Ejus viri, quoties de cœlestibus rogabatur, nota re-
2 sponsio est: [2]QUOD SUPRA NOS, NIHIL AD NOS. [3]Merito
ergo [4]de oraculo testimonium meruit prudentiæ
singularis; [5]quod oraculum, idem ipse præsensit,
idcirco universis esse præpositum, non quod omnia
comperisset sed quod nihil se scire didicisset: ita
3 confessæ imperitiæ summa prudentia est. Hoc
fonte defluxit [6]Arcesilæ, et multo post Carneadis

fructuosi in negotiis dicimur. *Disserere divina* is a construction found in Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. III. cap. 40, and elsewhere.

Ch. XIII. [1] *Quisque*, i. q. quisquis: so Plaut. *Asin.* Act II. Sc. iii. v. 24. *Sapientiæ principem:* cf. Cicer. *de N. D.* II. 66.

[2] QUOD SUPRA NOS NIHIL AD NOS. Lactantius, *de falsa sap.* cap. XX. § i. puts a wrong interpretation on this saying of Socrates. Tertullian, *ad Nation.* Lib. II. c. 4, ascribes it to Epicurus. Vide Cic. *Acad. Quæst.* I. 4, for a correct interpretion: also Aul. Gell. xiv. 3; Hieron. *adv. Rufin.* cap. 8: Ad ethicam (a physica) transiens dixit: *quod supra nos, nihil ad nos:* Lucret. *de rer. nat.* iv. 471, sqq.: Theodoret. *Græc. aff. cur.* p. 60. 17. μετεωρολόγοις καὶ φυσιολόγοις ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας τὴν ἠθικὴν διδασκαλίαν ἠσπάσατο. Bayle, *Dict.* art. *Ariston. Rem. C.*

[3] *merito ... meruit*, non offendit me magis, quam si viderem scriptum: 'merito ei redditum est, merito accepit'; immo etiam: 'merito dignus est habitus hoc testimonio.' J. F. GRONOVIUS *Obs. in Script. Eccles.* cap. vii. p. 77.

[4] *de oraculo.* The words of the oracle, as given by Diogenes Laert. Lib. II. in *Vit. Socr.* § 37, were: ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος. Cf. Justin. M. *cohort. ad Græc.* c. 37; Lucian, *Hermot.* § 48; *Amor.* § 48; Platon. *Apolog.* c. vi. § 14.

[5] *quod oraculum:* h. e. *quod oraculum* sc. prædixit, vel præsensit, *idem* et *ipse præsensit se idcirco* cet. *Præsensit*, Wopkenius explicat: bene animadvertit, quo sensu etiam de præsentibus rebus, non tantum de futuris dicitur. LINDNER.

[6] *Arcesilæ et multo post Carneadis.* Philosophi sunt Platonici, uterque caput suæ sectæ: ille Academiæ mediæ: hic novæ sive tertiæ. Cicero *de Oratore*, Lib. III. cap. 18. Quod vero dicit *multo post*, ex Ciceronis *Academ. Quæst.* declaratur, quarum Lib. I. *extr.*, et Lib. IV. cap. 6 tradit Carneadem *quartum ab Arcesila* fuisse: nam intercesserunt hujus scholæ rectores sive principes, Lycides, Evander, et Hegesinus. CELLARIUS. *Academicorum plurimorum* must mean "the *other* Academics, great as was their num-

CAP. XIII. et Academicorum plurimorum in summis quæstionibus tuta dubitatio; quo genere philosophari et caute indocti possunt et docti gloriose. Quid? 4
[7]Simonidis melici nonne admiranda omnibus et sectanda cunctatio? qui Simonides quum de eo, quid et quales arbitraretur deos, ab Hierone tyranno quæreretur, primo deliberationi diem petiit: postridie biduum prorogavit; mox alterum tantum admonitus adjunxit; postremo, quum causas tantæ moræ 5
tyrannus inquireret, respondit ille: quod sibi, quanto inquisitio tardior pergeret, tanto veritas fieret
I also think, obscurior. Mea quoque opinione quæ sunt dubia, 6

ber and variety:" so that Davies' conjectural reading Pyrrhoniorum, and Heumann's juniorum are needless. On the omission of *ceterorum* see my Aristoph. p. 477.

[7] *Simonidis melici.* [MS. *Melchi.* An, *Melicerti?* v. Suidas *s. v.*] Quæ de Simonidis cunctatione narrantur, hausta sunt ex Ciceronis *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. I. cap. xxii. Melicus autem studii cognomen, non patriæ: Ceus enim fuit. CELLARIUS. Ceterum Tertullianus *Apol.* 46. et *ad Nation.* II. 2, eadem de Thalete, quæ Minucius de Simonide hunc retulit in modum: 'Quid Thales ille princeps physicorum sciscitanti Cræso de divinitate certum renunciavit, commeatus deliberandi sæpe frustratus?' LE NOURRY, cap. iii. Art. III. Vide Bayle's *Dict. s. v.* Simonides *Rem. F.*

[8] *ut sunt,* "as there certainly are." Sic rei veritas eleganter demonstratur, says Bünemann on Lactant. *de Fals. relig.* cap. viii. § 4.

[9] *in alteram partem:* cf. supra cap. v. § 1. So *alter* is opposed to *uterque* in Cicer. *Acad.* II. 43; Hand, *Tursell.* I. p. 283.

[10] *aut anilis inducatur superstitio.* 'Est enim in traditionibus divinis periculum, ne aut neglectis iis impia fraude, aut susceptis anili superstitione obligemur,' inquit Cicero *de Div.* I. 4. RIGALT.

Ch. XIV. [1] *renidens,* 'with a smiling air,' 'a smile of satisfaction.' MS. *renitens. Orationis impetus.* Comp. Ch. IV. 2, 3.

[2] *homo Plautinæ prosapiæ,* 'one of the lineage of Plautus.' The phrase *Plautinæ familiæ* occurs in Jerom. *Ep.* 27. 48, as a term of reproach. The story is, that *Plautus* the comic writer, being in poverty, hired himself to work at a baker's hand-mill. A. Gell. *N. A.* iii. 3. ex Varrone. Rigaltius therefore takes it for a ridicule upon the poverty and simplicity of the Christians, (Bingham, *Antiq.* I. ii. § 12): whereupon James Gronovius in his MS. notes remarks: [Agnosco Christianos, prout describit Rigaltius, quippe quos ipse Cæcilius ita descripsit,

[8]ut sunt, relinquenda sunt: nec tot ac tantis viris deliberantibus temere et audaciter [9]in alteram partem ferenda sententia est; ne [10]aut anilis inducatur superstitio aut omnis religio destruatur. CAP. XIII.

we ought to leave doubtful matters as we find them, rather than judge hastily.

Sic Cæcilius, et [1]renidens: (nam indignationis ejus tumorem effusæ orationis impetus relaxaverat), Et quid ad hæc, ait, audet Octavius [2]homo Plautinæ prosapiæ, ut pistorum præcipuus, ita 2 postremus philosophorum? [3]Parce, inquam, in eum plaudere: neque enim prius exultare te dignum est concinnitate sermonis, quam utrinque plenius fuerit peroratum; maxime quum [4]non laudi, sed CAP. XIV.

CÆCILIUS plumes himself upon his arguments as unanswerable, whereupon MINUCIUS interposes; and remarks upon the fashion of disputants in general, that they try to puzzle a

(cap. viii. § 3) nec negabit Octavius. Quid igitur? an Octavius *pistor* tantas profectiones instituit, quales in principio hujus opusculi supposuit auctor? et visendi *amici* gratia dies aliquos Romæ facit? et pistoriensia negotia eum vocarunt Romam? et convictu et familiaritate multa usus fuit cum hoc pistore Minucius, *insignis causidicus?* et pistor ille tam doctus fuit ut fabulas historiasque gentilismi haberet percognitas, non aliquas sed universas, ut ex illis posset delectum facere. Etiam qui convenit pistor et philosophus? Certe jam olim versavit hæc verba Josephus Scaliger, notavitque ad Festum in v. *pistum.* Certe similis gaudet simili, et ut Minucius fuit doctus et juris Romani peritus, talis hominis personam induit etiam Octavio. Attamen et Harduinus citat hunc Minucii locum ad Plinii librum xxviii. cap. 11. p. 463. Sane in voce *pistorum* sunt manifestæ reliquiæ vocis ICtorum, id est, Jurisconsultorum. Certe quemadmodum ex illis notis prava verba fuerint subjecta, patet ex notis Gudii ad *Phædr.* p. 305].

[3] *parce in eum plaudere:* Cæcilium Minucius jam repercutit *Plautina prosapia. Parce,* inquit, *in eum plaudere:* quasi diceret: Noli in Octavium nostrum latrare cum illa tua Plautina sive latrante prosapia. Et est jocus duplex. Nam peracta Comœdia solent actores plausum petere: hic Cæcilius sibi plaudit in odium et infamiam Octavii. RIGALTIUS. Cf. Dobræi *Advers.* in Aristoph. *Ach.* v. 820.

[4] *non laudi sed veritati,* h. e. non pro laude sed veritate. *Altius moveor etc.,* "I am deeply concerned not so much about the present controversy, as at the general method of carrying on controversies." Lindner gives a different sense, if I understand him aright; "Your ingenious harangue pleased my *fancy:* "nevertheless it requires more than "the pleading of one side, the "cause must be heard through-"out, before my *assent* can be com-"manded."

CAP. XIV. veritati disceptatio vestra nitatur. Et quanquam 3
magnum in modum me subtili varietate tua delectarit oratio, tamen altius moveor, non de præsenti actione sed de toto genere disputandi: quod plerumque pro disserentium viribus et eloquentiæ potestate etiam perspicuæ veritatis conditio mutetur. [5]Id accidere pernotum est auditorum faci- 4
litate, qui dum verborum lenocinio a rerum intentionibus avocantur, sine delectu adsentiuntur dictis omnibus: nec a rectis falsa secernunt, nescientes inesse et in incredibili verum, et in verisimile mendacium. Itaque quo sæpius asseverationibus 5
credunt, [6]eo frequentius a peritioribus arguuntur: sic assidue temeritate decepti, [7]culpam judicis transferunt ad incerti querelam, [8]ut damnatis omnibus malint universa suspendere, quam de fallacibus judicare. Igitur nobis providendum est, ne 6
odio [9]identidem sermonum omnium laboremus, ita ut in execrationem et odium hominum plerique simpliciores efferantur. Nam incaute creduli cir- 7

cause, and shew more concern for Victory than Truth: such is the result of the servile homage paid them by an unthinking audience, who are misled by a display of oratory to believe any assertion, no matter how incorrect: but, finding themselves as many times mistaken in judgment, flippantly give way to settled distrust of every thing.

[5] *Id accidere pernotum est.* Heraldus illustrates the sentiment by the following lines in Clemens Alex. *Stromm.* Lib. I.:

ἀγλωσσίᾳ δὲ πολλάκις ληφθεὶς ἀνὴρ
δίκαια λέξας, ἧττον εὐγλώττου φέρει·
νῦν δ' εὐρόοισι στόμασι τἀληθέστατα
κλέπτουσιν, ὥστε μὴ δοκεῖν ἃ χρὴ δοκεῖν.

cf. Cicer. *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. I. cap. 5. *Verisimile* for *verisimili.* Vid. Creuzer ad Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* I. 21. p. 94.

[6] *eo frequentius a peritioribus arguuntur:* "the oftener they are convicted of being in the wrong by more able disputants."

[7] *culpam judicis etc.:* "they remove the blame from the judge (i. e. themselves) to a complaint about the doubtfulness of the *cause.*" *Culpa judicis,* says Gronovius, est quam judex admittit remissa intentione in auditu, vel dum in audiendo animo est omisso. Cf. Sall. *Jugurth.* c. i.

[8] *ut damnatis omnibus malint etc.,* "insomuch that, rejecting all conclusions, they prefer universal scepticism, rather than be at the pains of discerning truth from error."

cumveniuntur ab his, quos bonos putaverunt: mox errore consimili jam suspectis omnibus, ut improbos metuunt, etiam quos optimos sentire potu- CAP. XIV.

8 erunt. Nos proinde [10]solliciti, quod utrimque omni negotio disseratur, et ex altera parte plerumque obscura sit veritas, ex altero latere mira subtilitas, quæ nonnunquam ubertate dicendi [11]fidem confessæ probationis imitetur: diligenter, quantum potest, singula ponderemus, ut argutias quidem laudare, ea vero quæ recta sunt eligere, probare, suscipere possimus.

Their error should be a lesson to us *to stay our judgment,* till we have carefully balanced conflicting statements.

Decedis, inquit Cæcilius, officio judicis religiosi: nam perinjurium est, vires te actionis meæ intergressu gravissimæ disputationis infringere, quum Octavius integra et illibata habeat singula, [1]si

2 potest refutare. Id quod criminaris, inquam, [2]in commune, nisi fallor, compendium protuli, ut [3]examine scrupuloso nostram sententiam non eloquentiæ tumore sed rerum ipsarum soliditate libremus.

3 Nec avocanda, quod quereris, diutius intentio: CAP. XV.

Cæcilius objects to this remark, as unfair to his own argument.

[9] *identidem omnium,* "all without exception:" Hand, *Tursell.* III. 177. A little below *efferantur* is from the verb *efferare,* not *efferre;* "are furiously transported against."

[10] *Solliciti,* "in doubt and suspense." *Omni negotio;* Al. *omni* in *negotio*:

[11] *fidem confessæ probationis imitetur,* 'gains as much credit as an undeniably demonstrated argument does:' 'gains credit, and assumes the guise of conclusive evidence.'

Ch. XV. [1] *si potest, refutare. Id;* the MS. reading, *si potest reputare* (i. e. reminisci) *id,* does not yield so good a sense: I have therefore followed Heraldus in rejecting it. We might also read *singula, si potest, refutaverit. Quod etc.*

[2] *in commune compendium protuli,* i. e. breviter et compendiose recitavi, putans id tibi pariter et mihi fore commodum. HEUMANN.

[3] *examine scrupuloso libremus.* Comp. Shakesp. 2 Henry VI. Act II. Sc. 1;

> And poise the cause in justice equal scales,
> Whose beam stands sure, whose rightful cause prevails.

CAP. XVI. quum toto silentio liceat responsionem [4]Januarii nostri jam gestientis audire.

REPLY OF OCTAVIUS.

Et Octavius: Dicam equidem, ut potero, 1
pro viribus; et adnitendum [1]tibi mecum est, ut
conviciorum amarissimam labem [2]verborum vera-
cium flumine diluamus. Nec dissimulabo, principio 2
ita [3]Natalis mei errantem, vagam, lubricam nutasse
sententiam, ut sit nobis ambigendum, utrum tua
eruditio turbata sit, an vacillaverit per errorem;
nam interim deos credere, interim se deliberare
[4]variavit, [5]ut propositionis incerto incertior respon-
sionis nostræ intentio fundaretur. Sed in Natale 3
meo versutiam nolo, non credo: procul est [6]ab ejus

After noticing the vagueness and contradiction in Cæcilius' argument, (the result not of disingenuousness, but of his lack of fixed and settled principles), and clearing away the antecedent objection that mere external circumstances can

[4] *Januarii*, h. e. Octavii. *Gestientis* means "eager to speak." *Gestire* expresses "a lively desire, shewing itself by outward gestures." Donat. ad Ter. *Eunuch.* III. 5. 7.

Ch. XVI. [1] *tibi*, viz. Minucius.

[2] *verborum veracium flumine.* Quidam *lumine* (the MS. reads *in lumine*) minus apte et contra vim verbi quod sequitur, *diluamus.* Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. II. cap. 7: orationis *flumine* reprehensoris vitia *diluuntur.* CELLARIUS. *Conviciorum amarissimam labem* is for conviciorum amarissimorum labem. See note on Aristoph. Ἱππεῖς, v. 329, p. 444; and comp. ch. XXXV. § 3.

[3] *Natalis*, h. e. Cæcilii: *tua eruditio;* this of course he says on turning to Cæcilius. Cellarius reads *sua* i. e. for *ejus.* See Merivale, Sallust. *Jugurth.* cap. 73, note 4. After *turbata sit* we must supply "purposely," as the opposition implied in *per errorem* requires.

[4] *variavit:* i. e. varie et constanter dixit. Livius, Lib. XXVII. cap. 27: si quæ de Marcelli morte *variant* auctores, omnia exsequi vellem. HEUMANN. For the sense of *interim*, "one while," see note on ch. XIX. § 10.

[5] *ut propositionis incerto incertior etc.*, "in order that, by the ambiguity of his argument, the force of my reply might be weakened, having less sure ground to rest on," "being based on greater uncertainty." For *incertior* the MS. reads *certio*, i. e. certior, which Davies retains, changing *ut* into *ne.*

[6] *ab ejus simplicitate subtilis urbanitas.* The MS. has *ab ejus subtilitate simplicitate subtilis urbanitas*, with a slight mark of erasure before the last word. Gronovius suggests *sinceritate* in lieu of the first, but Davies is more probably correct in attributing the word altogether to some "oscitans librarius, qui inanem vo-
"cem scripsit, expungendam vero
"non existimavit, ne codicem lituris
"dehonestaret, eumque minus ven-
"dibilem redderet. Vide Muretum

CAP. XVI.

4 simplicitate subtilis urbanitas. Quid igitur? ut [7]quia rectam viam nescit, ubi, ut fit, in plures una diffinditur, qui viam nescit, hæret anxius nec singulas audet eligere nec universas probare: sic cui non est veri stabile judicium, prout infida suspicio spargitur, 5 ita ejus dubia opinio dissipatur. Nullum itaque miraculum est, si Cæcilius idemtidem in contrariis ac repugnantibus jactetur, [8]æstuet, fluctuetur: quod ne fiat ulterius, convincam et redarguam, [9]quamvis diversa, quæ dicta sunt, una veritate confirmata probataque. Sic nec dubitandum ei de cetero est nec 6 vagandum. Et quoniam meus frater [10]erupit, ægre se ferre, stomachari, indignari, dolere, illiteratos, pau-

operate as a prejudice to the enquiry after truth; which does not necessarily require learning, and is rather hindered than furthered by the possession of wealth; he shews that every man is born with a capacity to feel and reason, (§ 6—§ 9), and is not overstepping, but fulfilling, the conditions of his being, when he enquires into the original of things; an enquiry,

Var. Lect. Lib. XV. cap. 9." [*Subtilitas* animi propinquum vitio: Juv. *Satir.* XIV. v. 228, *lævo monitu* Schol. explicat *subtili.* J. GR.]

[7] *quia rectam viam nescit*: Ovid. *Fast.* v. 3;

Ut stat, et incertus qua sit sibi nescit eundum,
Quum videt ex omni parte viator iter:
Sic quia posse datur diversas reddere causas,
Qua ferar ignoro; copiaque ipsa nocet.

Lactantius *de vero cultu* III. 6: dicunt humanæ vitæ cursum literæ Y esse similem, quod unusquisque hominum, quum primæ adolescentiæ limen attigerit, et in eum locum venerit,

partes ubi se via findit in ambas,

hæreat nutabundus ac nesciat, in quam se partem potius inclinet." Hence the expression, ἐν τριόδῳ ἕστηκα, Suidas, *s. v.* For *diffinditur*, the MS. has *diffunditur*.

[8] *æstuet.* So it clearly, I think, stands in the MS. upon which all editors have fathered the reading *æstu et.* Notice the gradation contained in the three verbs, which Gronovius has pointed out.

[9] *quamvis diversa quæ dicta sunt, una veritate confirmata probataque. Sic nec etc.* In the MS. the word which follows *probata*, is *sint*, which, if we retain it at all, must in order to make sense be removed from its place to *diversa*, in which case the sentence *una veritate, etc.* will have to be taken with *nec dubitandum, etc.* Davies' conjecture *sic* makes perhaps a better sense and is a nearer approximation to the MS. reading. Translate, "I shall refute and disprove his arguments, however great their variety, by proving and establishing the simple truth. Thus he will have no cause for doubt or perplexity hereafter." *De cetero*, i. q. posthac: Hand, *Tursell.* II. 222; Bünemann ad Lactant. *Index, s. v.* de.

[10] *erupit*, "broke out into such expressions as these." For the allusion, see ch. v. § 4.

C. XVI. peres, imperitos, de rebus cœlestibus disputare; sciat omnes homines sine delectu ætatis, sexus, dignitatis, rationis et sensus capaces et habiles procreatos: nec fortuna nanctos sed natura [11]insitos esse sapientiam: quin ipsos etiam philosophos, vel si qui alii artium repertores [12]in memorias exierunt, priusquam sollertia mentis parerent nominis claritatem, habitos esse plebeios, indoctos, seminudos: adeo 7 [13]divites facultatibus suis illigatos, magis aurum suspicere consuesse quam cœlum: [14]nostrates pauperes et commentos esse prudentiam et tradidisse ceteris disciplinam. Unde apparet ingenium non dari [15]fa- 8 cultatibus, nec studio parari, sed cum ipsa mentis formatione generari. Nihil itaque indignandum 9 vel dolendum, si quicunque de divinis quærat, sentiat, proferat; quum [16]non disputantis auctoritas, sed disputationis ipsius veritas requiratur: atque etiam quo imperitior sermo, hoc illustrior ratio est:

without which he cannot attain self-knowledge, and by which he cannot fail to recognise, in the beauty, order, and final causes of creation, the existence of a Supreme Being distinct from the material world. XVII. § 1—§ 4.

[11] *insitos esse sapientiam:* "have had wisdom implanted in them." The construction, though harsh, may stand: *indeptos* has been proposed as a correction, *insitam iis esse* would perhaps be more suitable. The whole argument may be compared with that of Cyril Alex. *contra Julian.* VI. p. 207.

[12] *in memorias exierunt,* "have gone forth into the annals of fame." Plinius, *Panegyr.* cap. 55: *Ibit in secula* fuisse principem.

[13] *divites facultatibus suis illigatos:* "tied up in, engrossed with, their wealth." Cf. Lactant. VI. 5. § 20: opibus suis tanquam compedibus *illigatos:* VII. 1. § 19: eo fit, ut pauperes et humiles Deo credant facilius, qui sunt expediti; quam *divites, qui sunt impedimentis pluribus implicati;* immo vero catenati, et compediti serviunt ad nutum dominæ cupiditatis, quæ illos inextricabilibus vinculis irretivit; nec *possunt in cœlum adspicere,* quoniam mens eorum in terram prona, humique defixa est: 2 Tim. *Ep.* ii. v. 4. *οὐδεὶς στρατευόμενος ἐμπλέκεται ταῖς τοῦ βίου πραγματείαις.* So *adstrictus* studio, Sallust, *Jugurth.* c. 60. 70. *Adeo* means "what is more," "in fact:" Hand, *Tursell.* I. p. 453.

[14] *nostrates,* i. e. nostræ sectæ, Christianos fratres, quibus est communis patria cœlum. RIGALT. Minucius *nostrates pauperes* vocat eos qui fuerunt ejusdem sortis, ordinis et

quoniam non fucatur pompa facundiæ et gratiæ, C. XVII.
1 sed, ut est, recti regula sustinetur. Nec recuso, quod Cæcilius adserere inter præcipua connisus est, [1]hominem nosse se et circumspicere debere, quid sit, unde sit, quare sit; utrum elementis concretus, an concinnatus atomis, an potius a Deo factus,
2 formatus, animatus? Quod ipsum explorare et eruere sine universitatis inquisitione non possumus, quum ita cohærentia, connexa, concatenata sint, ut, nisi divinitatis rationem diligenter excusseris, nescias humanitatis: nec possis pulchre gerere rem civilem, nisi cognoveris hanc communem om-
3 nium mundi civitatem: præcipue quum a feris belluis hoc differamus, quod [2]illa prona in terramque vergentia, nihil nata sint prospicere, nisi pabulum: nos, quibus vultus erectus, quibus suspectus in cœlum datus est, sermo et ratio, per quæ Deum agnoscimus, sentimus, imitamur, ignorare [3]nec fas

conditionis, ac tunc erant Christiani; quemadmodum *nostrates philosophos* pro philosophis illius sectæ vel disciplinæ ponit Cicero, *Tuscul. Disp.* Lib. v. cap. 32. DAVIES.

[15] *facultatibus*, h. e. pro facultatibus: Plautus, *Pers.* IV. 4. 13: Datur hæc sexaginta minis. LINDNER.

[16] *non disputantis auctoritas etc.* Cf. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. I. c. 5: non tam auctoris in disputando, quam rationis momenta quærenda sunt: Arnobius, *adv. nat.* I. 59: Theophil. *ad Autolyc.* I. i: ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐραστὴς οὐ προσέχει λόγοις μεμιασμένοις, ἀλλὰ ἐξετάζει τὸ ἔργον τοῦ λόγου, τί καὶ ὁποῖον ἐστίν. WOWER.

Ch. XVII. [1] *hominem nosse se et circumspicere debere*: ἦν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, πάντων μέγιστον μαθημάτων, τὸ γνῶναι αὐτόν· ἑαυτὸν γάρ τις ἐὰν γνώῃ, θεὸν εἴσεται· θεὸν δὲ εἰδὼς ἐξομοιωθησέται θεῷ. Clem. Alexandr. *Pædag.* III. 1. ELMENHORST. Cf. Lactant. I. 1. 24.

[2] *illa prona.* An imitation of Ovid's well-known lines, *Metamor.* I. v. 84:

Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit cœlumque tueri
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.

Compare Sallust, *Bell. Catil.* ch. i. with Merivale's note: Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. II. c. 55: Lactant. *de opificio Dei*, c. 8.

[3] *nec fas*, h. e. nec possibile est:

C. XVII. nec licet ingerentem sese oculis et sensibus nostris cœlestem claritatem. Sacrilegii enim [4]vel maxime instar est, humi quærere, quod in sublimi debeas invenire.

For to believe that this beautiful world was framed by chance, argues absolute want of intelligence and observation; since the natural proofs of the *all-governing providence* and *intelligence* of GOD are so clear and irrefragable.

Quo magis mihi videntur qui hunc mundi totius ornatum non divina ratione perfectum volunt, sed [5]frustis quibusdam temere cohærentibus conglobatum, mentem, sensum, oculos denique ipsos non habere. Quid enim potest esse tam apertum, tam confessum tamque perspicuum, quum oculos in cœlum sustuleris, et quæ sunt infra circaque lustraveris, quam esse aliquod numen præstantissimæ mentis, quo omnis natura inspiretur,

Bünemann ad Lactant. *de orig. error.* I. § 6: cultum ejus quem prorsus ignorari ab homine *fas non est. Ingerentem sese oculis, etc.* "thrusting in at his eyes." Lactantius has borrowed this forcible expression: *de fals. rel.* cap. v. § 2: veritatis ipsius tanta est vis, ut nemo possit esse tam cæcus, qui non videat *ingerentem se oculis divinam claritatem.*

[4] *vel maxime instar est:* "is as like as any thing can be." All editors read *maximi* against MS. authority.

[5] *frustis quibusdam temere cohærentibus,* "fragments of matter, atoms meeting together at adventures and without any determinate direction." The next sentence is nearly word for word from Cicero, II. *de Nat. Deor.* cap. 2; comp. *de legg.* c. I. viii.; I *Tusc. Disp.* cap. xiii.; *de aruspic. resp.* c. ix.; also Lactantius, Lib. I. cap. 2. It will be observed that Minucius puts into the mouth of Octavius the ordinary heathen arguments for the existence of a God; and as Cæcilius arms himself from Cicero, he disarms him with texts from the same author. Lactantius commences his *Institutiones* with the assumption of what Octavius proves so eloquently, viz., that τὰ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἥ τε ἀΐδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης, (*Rom.* i. 20): he does not, he says, consider it necessary, "ab illa quæstione principium sumere quæ videtur esse prima natura, sitne providentia quæ rebus omnibus consulat, an fortuitu vel facta sint omnia vel gerantur"; the objections to it having already been abundantly answered, "ab hominibus argutis et eloquentibus." Compare Tertull. *Apolog.* c. xvii: Hæc est summa delicti nolentium recognoscere quæ ignorare non possunt: Cyprian *de Idol. van.* c. ii.

[6] *cœlum quam late tenditur,* "how widely are the heavens stretched out like a curtain." For the mean-

6 moveatur, alatur, gubernetur? [6]Cœlum ipsum vide C. XVII.
quam late tenditur, quam rapide volvitur, vel
quod in noctem astris distinguitur, vel quod in
diem sole lustratur: jam scies, quam sit in eo
7 summi moderatoris mira et divina libratio. Vide
et annum ut solis ambitus faciat: et mensem vide
ut [7]luna auctu, senio, labore circumagat. Quid te-
nebrarum et luminis dicam recursantes vices, ut sit
8 nobis [8]operis et quietis alterna reparatio? Relin-
quenda vero astrologis prolixior de sideribus oratio
vel quod regant cursum navigandi, vel quod [9]arandi
metendique tempus inducant: quæ singula non
modo ut crearentur, fierent, disponerentur, summi

ing of *tendere* compare ch. iii. § 2.

[7] *luna auctu, senio, labore,* "the moon by its increase, wane, and change." *Labor,* though usually applied to the moon's *eclipse,* must here refer to its total disappearance, the time of its death as Theophilus calls it, *ad Autol.* II. § 15, p. 80. Hildebrand ad Apulej. *Florid.* iv. c. 18. p. 89, and again *de deo Socr.* c. xxi. p. 160 proposes a strange theory, on the meaning of the word *labor.* He connects it with the verb labor, and labes.

[8] *operis et quietis.* Imitated from Cicero; jam diei noctisque vicissitudo conservat animantes, tribuens aliud agendi tempus, aliud quiescendi: *de Nat. Deor.* II. 53.

[9] *arandi ... tempus inducant,* "bring on fit times for tilling the ground, and for harvest-work." Hoc astra non peragunt: sed tantum nunciant et demonstrant, quo tempore messis aut aratio sit incipienda; Hesiodus, *opp. et dies,* v. 383:

Πληϊάδων Ἀτληγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων
ἄρχεσθ' ἀμητοῦ· ὀρότοιο δὲ δυσσομενάων.

Adi sis et Virgilium *Georg.* I. 204, seqq. Cum iis igitur facio qui legunt, *arandi metendique tempus indicant.* Philo Judæus *de opificio mundi,* pag. 20; Πλειάδες, ἡνίκ' ἂν μέλλωσιν ἐπιτέλλεσθαι, ἀμητὸν εὐαγγελίζονται. Sic Cicero de Lentisco *Divin.* Lib. I. cap. 9:

Ter fruges fundens tria tempora monstrat arandi.

Vide *Constit. Apostol.* Lib. VII. cap. 34. DAVIES. [εἰσαγει Soph. *Trach.* v. 29, Suidas in πόνος πόνῳ: Ovid, *Fast.* v. 163. J. GR.]

The whole of this is adapted from Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. II. The next sentence may be translated, "To create, to fashion, to "arrange all those things, there "needed a prime artificer and a "perfect intelligence, and not only "so, but to perceive, discern and "understand them requires the ut-"most exertion of human sagacity."

C. XVII. opificis et perfectæ rationis eguerunt: verum etiam sentiri, perspici, intelligi, sine summa sollertia et ratione non possunt. Quid? quum ordo tempo- 9
rum ac frugum stabili varietate distinguitur, nonne auctorem suum parentemque testatur ver æque cum suis floribus, et æstas cum suis messibus, et autumni maturitas grata, et [10]hiberna olivitas necessaria? qui ordo facile turbaretur, nisi maxima ratione consisteret. [11]Jam providentiæ quantæ, ne hiems 10
sola glacie ureret aut sola æstas ardore torreret, autumni et veris inserere medium temperamentum, ut per vestigia sua anni revertentis [12]occulti et innoxii transitus laberentur. [13]Mari intende: lege

[10] *hiberna olivitas*, 'winter which matures the olives,' DALRYMPLE. 'The moist and unctuous winter,' REEVES. *Olivitas* which is properly, 'the olive-vintage,' is here put for 'the time of the gathering of olives,' i.e. winter, as messis is often used for æstas: Virgil. *Ecl.* v. 70:

Tercentum messes, tercentum musta videre.

Ovid. *Metam.* XIV. 146. Columella *de re rustic.* lib. XII. cap. 50, says: "Media est olivitas plerumque initium mensis Decembris: nam et ante hoc tempus acerbum oleum conficitur, quod vocatur æstivum, et circa hunc mensem viride premitur, deinde postea maturum." Ergo *hibernam olivitatem necessariam*, says Gronovius, intellige hiemem oliviferam necessariam perinde, ut priores illæ partes non tantum necessariæ, verum etiam gratæ. Carmen *de judicio Domini*, quod Tertulliano ascribitur, quatuor anni tempora prope iisdem notis expedit:

Quis verni roseas titulabit floribus auras:
Æstivæque graves maturas messis aristas:
Quis dabit et tumidas auctumni vitibus uvas:
Quisve hiemi placitas semper laudabit olivas?

GRONOV. *Observ. Eccles.* p. 79.

[11] *Jam providentiæ quantæ* (sc. est)...*inserere*, "Then again, what admirable foresight it marks to interpose." On *jam* see Index, *s.v.* *Ne hiems sola ureret*, "that there might not be one uniform winter to benumb with cold." So Liv. XL. 45: *Hiems* arbores, quæ obnoxiæ frigoribus sunt, *deusserat* cunctas.

[12] *occulti et innoxii transitus.* Egregie Socrates apud Xenophontem hoc utitur argumento, quo probet Deos hominibus consulere: *τὸ δ' αὖ ἔπειτα καὶ τοῦτο φανερὸν, (ὅτι ἂν ὑπενέγκοιμεν οὔτε τὸ καῦμα οὔτε τὸ ψύχος, εἰ ἐξαπίνης γίγνοιτο) οὕτω μὲν κατὰ μικρὸν προσιέναι τὸν ἥλιον, οὕτω δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπιέναι, ὥστε λανθάνειν*

11 litoris stringitur. Quidquid arborum est, vide quam C. XVII.
e terræ visceribus animatur. Adspice Oceanum: refluit reciprocis æstibus. Vide fontes: manant venis perennibus. Fluvios intuere: eunt semper ex-
12 ercitis lapsibus. Quid loquar [14]apte disposita recta montium, collium flexa, porrecta camporum? Quidve animantium loquar adversus sese tutelam multiformem? alias armatas cornibus, alias dentibus septas et [15]fundatas ungulis et spicatas aculeis: aut pedum celeritate liberas, aut elatione pinnarum?
13 Ipsa præcipue formæ nostræ pulchritudo Deum fatetur artificem: status [16]rigidus, vultus erectus, oculi in summo velut in specula constituti, et omnes

ἡμᾶς εἰς ἑκάτερα τὰ ἰσχυρότατα καθισταμένους: Similiter Dion Chrysostomus *Orat.* III. *de regno* p. 50, ubi videndus F. Morellus. DAVIES. Quod Virgil. *Georg.* II. 344, de novis satis canit, idem etiam de corporibus animantium valet:

Nec res hunc teneræ possent perferre laborem,
Si non tanta quies iret frigusque caloremque
Inter, et exciperet cœli indulgentia terras.

LINDNER.

[13] *Mari intende,* "observe the sea:" comp. ch. vii. § 8. *Stringitur,* i. e. *adstringitur,* "is confined within strict limits." See note on ch. x. § 6. *Lege litoris,* "by a law that the shore imposes." So Job xxviii. 11: Jeremiah v. 22. [*Aspice Oceanum:* quasi vel ex Hispania vel ex Mauretania accessisset. J. GR.]

[14] *apte disposita,* h. e. quam apte disposita sint, "the fit arrangement of the steep mountains and sloping hills." *Recta montium,* i. q. erecta montium. Gronov. *Obs. Eccles.* p. 34. For the construction see Bünemann on Lactant. *de vit. beat.* Lib. vii. c. 3, p. 871, the whole of which passage may be compared with this, as also Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 39. *Adversus sese,* "against each other," for *adversus se invicem.*

[15] *fundatas ungulis etc.* "shod with hoofs, or pointed with stings." *Alias armatas cornibus:* comp. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 47.

Pedum ... liberas, "secured in their freedom by speed of foot or by their capacity of soaring aloft."

[16] *rigidus,* 'upright.' So Lactant. *Div. Inst.* II. ii. 17: nobis proprie datum est cœlum *rigidis* ac stantibus intueri: *ib.* xvii. 9: hominem *rigidum* figuravit: *de opif. Dei,* viii. 2: nunc ad cœli contemplationem *rigidum* erexit: the whole of which chapter, it may be observed, is an amplification of Octavius' argument. Comp. also Cicer. *N. D.* II. 56; *de Legg.* I. 9; Augustin. *C. D.* xiv. 24.

C. XIIX. ceteri [17] sensus velut in arce compositi. [1]Longum est ire per singula: [2]nihil in homine membrorum est, quod non et necessitatis caussa sit, et decoris: et quod magis mirum est, eadem figura omnibus sed quædam unicuique lineamenta deflexa: sic et similes universi videmur, et [3]inter se singulis dissimiles invenimur. Quid nascendi ratio? quid 2
cupido generandi? nonne a Deo data est? et [4]ut ubera partu maturescente lactescant, et ut tener fœtus ubertate lactei roris adolescat? [5]Nec univer- 3
sitati solummodo Deus, sed et partibus consulit. [6]Britannia sole deficitur, sed circumfluentis maris tepore recreatur: [7]Ægypti siccitatem temperat Nilus amnis: colit Euphrates Mesopotamiam: [pro 4

[17] *sensus velut in arce.* Sensus interpretes ac nuncii rerum in capite, tanquam in arce, mirifice ad usus necessarios et facti et collocati sunt. Cicer. *de N. D.* ii. 56.

Ch. XIIX. [1] *Longum est.* See Index: and comp. ch. xxiii. § 1.

[2] *nihil.....membrorum.* Eodem modo Stoici omnia in hominis figura, non modo ad usum verum etiam ad venustatem apta, describere solebant; Cic. *de N. D.* i. 18. The proof of a God from the structure of human bodies is discoursed at large in the same treatise, lib. ii. ch. 54.

[3] *inter se invenimur: Inter se* pro: inter nos. Comp. above, cap. xi. § 2, and also Virgil. *Æn.* vi. v. 743:

Quisque suos patimur manes.

[4] *ut ubera;* h. e. nonne a Deo datum est, ut ubera, etc. LINDNER.

[5] *nec universitati.* Eodem modo Lucilius apud Ciceronem *de N. D.* ii. 65: nec vero universo generi hominum solum, sed etiam singulis a Diis immortalibus consuli et provideri solet. LINDNER.

[6] *Britannia sole deficitur,* i. e. destituitur, caret. "Britain is deficient in sunshine." In this the ancients agree. Strabo, *Geogr.* l. iv, p. 200 *ed. Paris.* (quoted by Wower) says that the sun is not visible in Britain for above three or four hours together, (Ἐπομβροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἀέρες μᾶλλον ἢ νιφετώδεις, ἐν δὲ ταῖς αἰθρίαις ὁμίχλη κατέχει πόλυν χρόνον, ὥστε δι' ἡμέρας ὅλης ἐπὶ τρεῖς μόνον ἢ τέτταρας ὥρας τὰς περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ὁρᾶσθαι τὸν ἥλιον). Tacitus says, "cœlum ejus crebris imbribus et nebulis fœdum: at asperitatem frigorum abesse:" *Agric.* cap. xii. Herodian ventures still further, and asserts that the air in Britain is *always* foggy (ἀεὶ ζοφώ-

imbribus pensat] Indus flumen et serere Orientem dicitur et rigare. [8] Quod si ingressus aliquam domum, omnia exculta, disposita, ornata vidisses; utique præesse ei crederes dominum, et illis bonis rebus multo esse meliorem: ita in hac mundi domo, quum cœlum terramque perspicias, providentiam, ordinem, legem; crede esse universitatis dominum parentemque ipsis sideribus et totius mundi partibus pulchriorem. Ni forte, quoniam de providentia nulla dubitatio est, inquirendum putas, utrum unius imperio, an arbitrio plurimorum cœleste regnum gubernetur: quod ipsum non est multi laboris aperire cogitanti imperia terrena, [9] quibus exempla utique de cœlo. Quando

C. XIIX.

Argument for the *Unity* of God, drawn from a consideration of the analogy of *human empires* and the *animal creation.*

δης φαίνεται) *Sever.* lib. iii. c. 47. Hailes. *Maris tepore recreatur.* Cic. *de N. D.* ii. 10: "Maria agitata ventis ita tepescunt, ut intelligi facile possit in tantis illis humoribus inclusum esse calorem.

[7] *Ægypti siccitatem temperat Nilus.* cf. Plin. *Panegyr.* cap. 30. Our author here again follows Cicero, who says: "Ægyptum Nilus irrigat, et cum tota æstate obrutam oppletamque tenuerit, tum recedit mollitosque et oblimatos agros ad serendum relinquit. Mesopotamiam fertilem efficit Euphrates, in quam quotannis quasi novos agros invehit: Indus vero, qui est omnium fluminum maximus, non aqua solum agros lætificat et mitigat, sed eos etiam conserit. Magnam enim vim seminum, frumenti similium, dicitur secum deportare: *de N. D.* ii. 52. Comp. Strabo, *Geogr.* L. xv. p. 690.

[8] *quod si ingressus.* An imitation of the argument of Lucilius, in Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 5: Si quis in domum aliquam aut in gymnasium aut in forum venerit, quum videat omnium rerum rationem, modum, disciplinam; non possit ea sine causa fieri judicare, sed esse aliquem intelligat qui præsit et cui pareatur: multo magis in tantis motibus tantisque vicissitudinibus, tam multarum rerum atque tantarum ordinibus, in quibus nihil unquam immensa et infinitia vetustas mentita sit, statuat necesse est ab aliqua mente tantos naturæ motus gubernari. Comp. Lactantius, *de Origine Error.* viii. 66.

[9] *quibus exempla utique de cœlo* sc. sunt petita, "human empires analogous to that of heaven." Cyprian, *de Idol. vanit.* c. 5; ad divinum imperium etiam de terris mutuemur exemplum: Athanas. *contr. Gent.* § 38.

C. XIIX. unquam regni societas aut cum fide cœpit, [10]aut sine cruore discessit? [11]Omitto Persas de equorum 6
hinnitu augurantes principatum; et [12]Thebanorum par mortuum, fabulam, transeo: ob pastorum et casæ regnum [13]de geminis memoria notissima est: [14]generi et soceri bella toto orbe diffusa sunt: et tam magni imperii duos fortuna non cepit. Vide 7
cetera: rex unus apibus, dux unus in gregibus, in armentis rector unus: tu in cœlo summam potestatem dividi credas, et scindi veri illius ac divini imperii totam [15]potestatem? quum palam sit, parentem omnium Deum nec principium habere, nec

The other divine attributes and perfections

[10] *aut sine cruore discessit.* Ennius apud Cicer. *de Offic.* I:

Nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est.

Cyprian, *de Idol. vanit.* cap. V: quando unquam regni societas aut cum fide cœpit aut sine cruore desiit? Sic Thebanorum germanitas rupta et permanens rogis dissidentibus etiam in morte discordia. Some editors read desiit in the text of Minucius from this passage. [*discessit:* ut discedere cœlum in Virgil. Burmann. p. 28. J. GR.]

[11] *omitto Persas.* Possem equidem exemplum adducere Persarum, ubi Smerde occiso, adeo inter septem magos regni non convenit societas, ut ἰσονομία et ὀλιγαρχία rejecta, ei principatum deferri placeret, cujus equus, inter solis ortum, primus hinnitum edidisset; sed ob vetustatem eam rem omitto. Historiam refert Justinus i. 10; et Herodotus III. 84: [Valer. Maxim. vii. 2], LINDNER. *De* i. q. per: vide Hildebrand. Apulej. *Metam.* p. 668: Hand, *Tursell.* II. p. 219 seqq.

[12] *Thebanorum par,* sc. Eteocles and Polynices. Similarly Petronius Arbit. *Satyr.* c. 80 speaks of them as Thebanum par. The MS. reading is *per mortuam fabulam:* whence Gronovius reads *par, mortuam fabulam,* explaining *mortuam* as, "jam exoletam, sine efficacia et vi, ut demonstrando valide vero nequeat opitulari." "Fabulam dicit, "quo excuset exemplum ex mytho-"logia repetitum inter historica, "quibus suam sententiam probet "atque stabiliat:" OEHLER, who reads *mortuum.*

[13] *de geminis,* sc. Romulo et Remo: Liv. I. vii. 2.

[14] *generi et soceri,* sc. Pompeii et Cæsaris: Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 830. The expression *duos fortuna non cepit* is borrowed directly or through Florus (iv. 2. 14), from Lucan's well-known lines (*Phars.* I. 209):

populique potentis
Non cepit fortuna duos.

[15] *potestatem* [an proprietatem? Tertullian, *Apolog.* 24. J. GR.] Davies suggests that in the former part of the sentence *potestatem* should

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terminum: [16]qui nativitatem omnibus præstet, sibi perpetuitatem: qui ante mundum fuerit sibi ipse pro mundo. Qui universa, quæcunque sunt, [17]verbo 8 jubet, ratione dispensat, virtute consummat. Hic [18]nec videri potest; visu clarior est: nec comprehendi; [tactu purior est]: nec æstimari; sensibus major est, infinitus, immensus, et soli sibi, tantus quantus est, notus: nobis vero ad intellectum pectus angustum est: et ideo sic eum digne æsti- 9 mamus, dum inæstimabilem dicimus. Eloquar, quemadmodum sentio: magnitudinem Dei, qui se putat nosse, minuit: qui non vult minuere, [19]non

C. XIIX.

What the *essence* is of the Supreme Being, is beyond the reach of our finite faculties to understand:

be cancelled and *summam* be taken for a substantive.

[16] *qui nativitatem omnibus præstet etc.*: τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος τὰ πάντα, 1 Tim. ch. vi. 13: and again, ver. 16: ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν.

[17] *verbo jubet*, sc. esse. Tertullian *Apolog.* c. xvii.: "Deus totam molem istam, *verbo*, quo jussit: *ratione*, qua disposuit: *virtute*, qua potuit, de nihilo expressit, and cap. xxi: jam diximus, Deum universitatem hanc mundi verbo et ratione et virtute molitum: cui et sermo insit prænuntianti et ratio adsit disponenti, et virtus præsit perficienti.

[18] *nec videri potest.* Cyprian has transcribed this passage nearly word for word, cap. v. § 5. From him most editors after Meursius have introduced the words *tactu purior est*, which are not found in the MS. Tertullian has a parallel passage: "invisibilis est etsi videatur: incom- "prehensibilis, etsi per gratiam re- "præsentetur; inæstimabilis, etsi "humanis sensibus æstimetur. Ideo "verus et tantus est. Ceterum quod "videri communiter, quod compre- "hendi, quod æstimari potest, minus "est et oculis quibus occupatur, et "manibus quibus contaminatur et "sensibus quibus invenitur. Quod "vero immensum, soli sibi notum "est; hoc quod est, Deum æstimari "facit, dum æstimari non capit: ita "eum vis magnitudinis et notum ho- "minibus objicit et ignotum:" *Apologet.* c. xvii. In like manner Theophilus, *ad Autolyc.* i. 5, says: τὸ μὲν εἶδος τοῦ Θεοῦ—μὴ δυνάμενον ὀφθαλμοῖς σαρκίνοις ὁραθῆναι· δόξῃ γάρ ἐστιν ἀχώρητος, μεγέθει ἀκατάληπτος, ὕψει ἀπερινόητος, ἰσχύι ἀσύγκριτος κ.τ.λ. cf. Tatian *or. contr. Græc.* § 4; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* Lib. vii. cap. viii. And not only Christian, but pagan writers also, breathe the same sentiment. Thus Aristotle *de Mundo*, cap. v: πάσῃ θνητῇ φύσει γενόμενος ἀθεώρητος, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων θεωρεῖται ὁ θεός: and Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 29: Deum agnoscis ex operibus ejus.

[19] *non novit:* is profitetur se non

C. XIIX. novit. [20]Nec nomen Deo quæras : Deus nomen est. 10
Illic vocabulis opus est, quum per singulos propriis appellationum insignibus multitudo dirimenda est. Deo, qui solus est, DEI vocabulum totum est. [21]Quem si patrem dixero, terrenum opineris : si regem, carnalem suspiceris : si dominum, intelliges utique mortalem. Aufer additamenta nominum, et perspicies ejus claritatem. Quid? quod omnium 11 [22]de isto habeo consensum. [23]Audio vulgus, quum

Hence vanity of *terms* to express it.

Men's *natural sense* and immediate consciousness of

nosse hanc magnitudinem. LINDNER.

[20] *nec nomen Deo quæras.* [τὸ Θεὸς ὄνομα καθολικῶς καὶ ἀοριστῶς λεγόμενον. Tzetzes, *Hesiod.* p. 9, col. 6. J. GR.] Cyprian, *l.c.* uses the same words with very little alteration: Lactantius also, *de Falsa Relig.* c. vi. § 4, after citing an assertion of Mercurius Trismegistus, that God was "ἀνώνυμος, eo quod nominis proprietate non egeat, ob ipsam scilicet unitatem," continues in language manifestly imitated from that of Minucius: "Deo igitur nomen non "est, quia solus est: nec opus est "proprio vocabulo, nisi quum dis- "crimen exigit multitudo, ut unam- "quamque personam sua nota et ad- "pellatione designes." So Justin M. *Apolog.* i. § 10, p. 19, and § 80, p. 118, and *Apolog.* ii. § 6, p. 12. 13; Origen *adv. Cels.* Lib. VI. p. 320, enters into a full explanation of the sense in which this is predicated of the Deity: καὶ τὸ "οὐκ ὀνομαστὸς δὲ" διαστολῆς δεῖται· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν λέξεσι καὶ σημαινομένοις δύναται παραστῆσαι τὰς ἰδιότητας τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀληθές ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον· εἴ γε καὶ πολλαὶ ποιότητες οὐκ εἰσὶν ὀνομασταί· τίς γὰρ δύναται ὀνόμασι διαφορὰν δοῦναι ποιότητος, γλυκύτητος φοίνικος καὶ γλυκύτητος ἰσχάδος; τίς δὲ ὀνόματι δύναται διαστείλασθαι καὶ παραστῆσαι τὴν ἑκάστου ἰδίαν ποιότητα· οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστὸν εἰ οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως ὀνομαστὸς ὁ Θεός. εἰ δὲ τὸ ὀνομαστὸν λαμβάνεις, κάθο οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ὀνόμασι παραστῆσαί τι τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ χειραγωγῆσαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ ποιῆσαι νοῆσαι περὶ Θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἐφικτὸν τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει, τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲν ἄτοπον λέγειν αὐτὸν ὀνομαστόν.

[21] *quem si patrem.* Epitheta *terrenum* et *carnalem* aptius haud dubie sic disposueris: *quem si patrem dixero,* carnalem *opineris; si regem,* terrenum *suspiceris.* WOPKEN. [Egregie Proclus ad *Hesiod.* p. 66, de Jovis oculo, μὴ ὅρασιν ἔχειν σωματικὴν ἀλλὰ νοεράν. J. GR.]

[22] *de isto,* hoc est, *de ista re.* LINDNER.

[23] *audio vulgus.....dicunt.* For the construction of verbs of sense with the indicative, see Cort. Cicer. *Ep.* iii. 1. 3. Tertullian in a noble passage of his *Apology,* appeals to the *testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ,* 'the spontaneous expression of an irrepressible and immediate consciousness of the Deity

ad cœlum manus tendunt, nihil aliud quam DEUM dicunt: et DEUS MAGNUS EST: et DEUS VERUS EST: et [24]SI DEUS DEDERIT. [25]Vulgi iste naturalis sermo est, an Christiani confitentis oratio? et [26]qui Jovem principem volunt, falluntur in nomine, sed de una potestate consentiunt. C. XIIX. God, shewn by the spontaneous expressions of common life.

Audio poetas quoque [1]*unum patrem divum atque hominum* prædicantes, et, *talem esse mortalium mentem,* [2]*qualem parens omnium diem duxe-* CAP. XIX. The *poets* speak of GOD as One and as a Spirit, and so far are

in the untutored soul:' "vultis ex animæ ipsius testimonio comprobemus? Quæ licet carcere corporis pressa, licet institutionibus pravis circumscripta, licet libidinibus et concupiscentiis evigorata, licet falsis diis exancillata, quum tamen resipiscit, ut ex crapula, ut ex somno, ut ex aliqua valetudine, et sanitatem suam patitur, DEUM nominat, hoc solo quia proprie verus hic unus: DEUS BONUS et MAGNUS, et QUOD DEUS DEDERIT, omnium vox est. Judicem quoque contestatur illum, DEUS VIDET, et DEO COMMENDO, et DEUS MIHI REDDET. O testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ! Denique pronuntians hæc, non ad Capitolium, sed ad cœlum respicit. Novit enim sedem DEI vivi ab illo, et inde descendit." He has also devoted a special treatise to the same subject, viz. the *de testimonio animæ.* Cf. ad *Scapulam,* cap. iv.; Neander's *Antignostikus,* p. 258, foll.: *Church Hist.* Vol. I. p. 246 *ed. Bohn.*

[24] SI DEUS DEDERIT: ἢν Θεὸς θέλῃ, Xenoph. *Cyrop.* iv. 2. 13: Aristoph. *Plut.* v. 347, 405; Plato, *Alcib.* i. p. 135: ἢν Θεὸς παράσχῃ, Herod. *passim:* ξὺν Θεῷ, Aristoph. *Plut.* 114: Soph. *Ajax,* 383.

[25] *vulgi iste naturalis sermo est.* Naturalis est ἔμφυτος, sine monitore vel institutione prævia; nam ratiocinatio *Felicis* eorum sententia nititur, qui *ideas,* ut loquuntur, *innatas* statuunt. Sed hanc opinionem prorsus evertit acutissimus Philosophus *Joan. Lockius de Intellig. Hum.* Lib. I. cap. 2, sqq. DAVIES. Comp. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. I.: "quod "est genus hominum, quod non ha- "beat sine doctrina anticipationem "quandam Deorum, quam appellat "πρόληψιν Epicurus, id est, ante- "ceptam animo rei quandam infor- "mationem"... and again, "insitas "eorum et innatas cognitiones habe- "mus."

[26] *qui Jovem principem volunt,* sc. Deorum esse statuunt. Augustin. *de consens. Evang.* Lib. i. c. 22: 'Varro deum Judæorum Jovem putavit, nihil interesse censens, quo nomine nuncupetur, dum eadem res intelligatur.' ELMENHORST.

Ch. XIX. [1] *unum patrem divum atque hominum.* These words are a quotation from a passage of Ennius, given in Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 2, 25.

[2] *qualem parens omnium diem duxerit.* The MS. reading is not *direxerit* as several editors tell us, but *duxxerit* ("scriptura paulum ex-

CAP. XIX. *rit.* Quid Mantuanus Maro? nonne apertius, 2
witnesses to the truth; [3]proximius, verius? [4]*Principio,* ait, *cœlum, et terras, et cetera mundi membra spiritus intus alit, et infusa mens agitat. Inde hominum pecudumque genus,* et 3
quidquid aliud animalium. [5]Idem alio loco mentem istam et spiritum Deum nominat. Hæc enim verba sunt:

—Deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasque tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum.
[6]*unde homines, et pecudes, unde imber et ignes.*

[7]Quid aliud et a nobis Deus, quam mens et ratio
and so do the various et spiritus prædicatur? Recenseamus, si placet, 4

errante," as Rigaltius remarks): for which it has been proposed to read *induxerit,* or *eduxerit,* or *direxerit,* by those who misapprehended the author's meaning, and did not see that *qualem diem duxerit* is a translation of the words οἷον ἐπάγῃσιν ἦμαρ, which occur in Homer, *Odyss.* xviii. 136:

τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
οἷον ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἄγῃσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

which lines are thus translated by Cicero ap. Augustin. *de Civ. Dei,* v. 8:

Tales sunt hominum mentes, quales pater ipse
Jupiter auctiferas lustravit lumine terras.

i. e., as Rigaltius explains, talis est mens, qualis dies, quo die mens edita est.

[3] *proximius* sc. ad rem, "quod præsentioris sit fidei," Gronovius. cf. Oehler on Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxiii. n. *y. Verius,* "more thoroughly": non in sensu morali et qualitatis, sed ratione modi et quantitatis sumendum: Bünemann on Lactantius, iv. 30. 14. Cf. infra cap. xxxvi. § 3.

[4] *Principio cœlum etc. Æneid.* Lib. vi. 724—729.

[5] *Idem alio loco. Georg.* iv. 221.

[6] *Unde homines. Æn.* i. 743. These passages are remarkable as containing an exposition of the system of Pythagoras: concerning which see a passage from Cicero, quoted below, note 15.

[7] *quid aliud etc.* Comp. Seneca *Nat. Quæst.* i. "Quid est Deus? mens universi."

[8] *disciplinas,* 'sects.' This is Heumann's correction. The MS. has *disciplinam.* Cf. Bünemann ad Lactant. *D. I.* ii. 8. 48. This account of the tenets of the heathen philosophers is mostly a transcript of Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* i. 10, sqq.

[9] *de suis dictis:* 'because of their sayings.' Comp. Propert. i. 5. 26:

de tanto nomine rumor eris;

i. e. propterea quod tantum sit tibi nomen. Hand, *Tursell.* ii. p. 216.

[10] *Thales Milesius.* Θαλῆς δὲ πρῶτος παραδέδοται τὴν περὶ φύσεως ἱστόριαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκφῆ-

[8]disciplinas philosophorum; deprehendes eos, etsi sermonibus variis, ipsis tamen rebus in hanc unam coire et conspirare sententiam. CAP. XIX.

sects of *philosophers* in their cosmogonic theories, though their notion of GOD is imperfect, and corrupt.

Omitto illos rudes et veteres, qui [9]de suis dictis sapientes esse meruerunt. Sit [10]Thales Milesius omnium primus, qui primus omnium de cœlestibus disputavit. Idem Milesius Thales rerum initium aquam dixit: Deum autem eam mentem, quæ ex aqua cuncta formaverit. [11]*En* altior et sublimior aquæ et spiritus ratio, quam ut ab homine potuerit inveniri: a Deo traditum. Vides philosophi principalis nobiscum penitus opinionem consonare. [12]Anaxi-

ναι. Simplicius in Lib. I. *Physic. Aristot.:* Thales Milesius, qui primus de talibus rebus quæsivit, aquam dixit esse initium rerum, Deum autem eam mentem, quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret, Cicero, *N. D.* I. 10: cf. Lactant. *D. I.* I. 5, § 16: Plutarch *de Plac. Philos.* I. c. 3: Eusebius, *Præpar. Evang.* xiv. 13, x. 4. Augustine *de C. D.* viii. 2.

[11] *En altior et sublimior aquæ et spiritus ratio.* For *eo*, the MS. reading, I have taken the liberty to substitute *en*, which it is strange that none of the commentators should have thought of, while they have run into all sorts of conjectures, as *eho!* (Rigaltius, Davies) *et* (Heraldus), *exactior* (Gronovius MS. notes), or supposed a transposition of the whole sentence after *consonare*, or have pronounced the whole sentence a gloss, as Gronovius, *Obs. Eccl.* p. 80. "Est ἐκφώνημα παρενθετικὸν": says Davies, "respexit autem Minucius ad *Genes.* cap. 1, 2." So Le Nourry remarks: "Poterat discere "ab Ægyptiis, quibuscum congressus "fuerat, Ægyptii autem a Mose et "hic a Deo illud acceperat: quo Mosis "loco Baptismum præsignificari "censuerunt e vett. Christianis multi. "Tertullianus *de Baptism.* cap. 4: "Hieronymus *adv. Luciferianos*, "Tom. IV. col. 292: *Spiritus*, inquit "Moses, *domini ferebatur super* "*aquas.* Ex quo apparet Baptisma "non esse sine Spiritu Sancto." Translate: "Let me tell you, this account of water and spirit was a notion too profound and too lofty for human discovery: it was a thing revealed of God."

[12] *Anaximenes:* Cic. *l. c.*: "Anaximenes aëra deum statuit, eumque gigni esseque immensum et infinitum et semper in motu." Cf. Lactant. *l. c.* § 19: Augustine *Confess.* x. 6. Stobæus, *Ecl. Physic.* cap. ii. [Ἀναξιμένους πνεῦμα, Max. Tyr. *dial.* xvi. p. 93, et quod ibi dicit ille ipse, nunc quoque significat Octavius; τὰ πολλὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων στρατόπεδα ἀντιτεταγμένα ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀντιπαιωνίζοντα λόγων μὲν πάντα μεστὰ καὶ ψιθυρισμάτων

CAP. XIX. menes deinceps, et post [13] Apolloniates Diogenes, aëra Deum statuunt, infinitum et immensum. Horum quoque similis de divinitate consensio est. [14] Anaxagoræ vero descriptio et motus infinitæ 7
mentis Deus dicitur. Et [15] Pythagoræ Deus est animus, per universam rerum naturam commeans et intentus: ex quo etiam animalium omnium vita capiatur. [16] Xenophanem notum est, 8
omne infinitum cum mente Deum tradere: et

σοφιστῶν σοφισταῖς συμπιπτόντων. J. GR.]

[13] *Apolloniates:* Vide Index I. *s. v.* Cic. *l. c.* cap. xii.: Quid aër, quo Diogenes Apolloniates utitur Deo, quem sensum habere potest, aut quam formam Dei? Augustin. *de Civ. Dei*, viii. 2: Diogenes quoque, Anaximenis alter auditor, aërem quidem dixit rerum esse materiam, de qua omnia fierent, sed eum esse compotem divinæ rationis, sine qua nihil ex eo fieri posset. *Horum quoque similis etc.:* "And their concurring opinion as to the deity resembles ours."

[14] *Anaxagoræ:* φήσιν Ἀναξαγόρας ὁμοῦ πάντων ὄντων καὶ ἡρεμούντων τὸν ἄπειρον χρόνον, κίνησιν ἐμποιῆσαι τὸν νοῦν καὶ διακρῖναι: Aristot. *Phys. Ausc.* Lib. viii. c. 1: τῆς δὲ κινήσεως καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αἴτιον ἐπέστησε τὸν νοῦν ὁ Ἀναξάγορας, ὑφ' οὗ διακρινόμενα τούς τε κόσμους καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων φύσιν ἐγέννησεν: Simplic. in Lib. I. *Physic. Aristot.:* πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησεν.....καὶ νοῦς ἀρχὴ κινήσεως: Diogen. Laert. Lib. II. 3. 4: Cicero, *l. c.* cap. xi: Anaxagoras primus omnium rerum descriptionem et motum (*al.* modum) mentis infinitæ vi ac ratione designari et confici voluit.

[15] *Pythagoræ.* Cic. *l. c.* cap. 11: "Pythagoras censuit, animum esse per naturam rerum omnem intentum et commeantem, ex quo nostri animi carperentur." Unde idem statuit; ἀνθρώπων εἶναι πρὸς θεοὺς συγγενείαν et εἶναι τὴν ψύχην ἀπόσπασμα αἰθέρος, Diog. Laert. viii. 1. 19; Lactant. *D. I.* I. v. 17.

[16] *Xenophanem:* Cic. *l. c.:* Xenophanes, mente adjuncta, omne præterea, quod esset infinitum, Deum voluit esse: Diog. Laert. ix. 2. 3: φήσι δὲ τέτταρα εἶναι τῶν ὄντων στοιχεῖα κόσμους δ' ἀπείρους. LINDNER. Vid. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* xiii. 13; Theodoret. *Gr. Aff. Cur.* p. 57, 3; p. 58, 36.

[17] *Antisthenem.* Cicero, *ib.* cap. xiii: Antisthenes in eo libro, qui *physicus* inscribitur, populares Deos multos, naturalem unum esse dicens, tollit vim et naturam Deorum: Lactant. *Inst.* i. 5, 18: *de Ira Dei*, xi. § 14.

[18] *Speusippum:* Cicero, *l. c.* "Speusippus, Platonem avunculum subsequens et vim quandam dicens, qua omnia regantur, eamque animalem, evellere ex animis conatur cognitionem deorum." *Deum nosse*, "recognised as God," "to be God."

[19] *Democritus.* Cicero, *ib.* cap. xii: Democritus tum imagines,

[17]Antisthenem, populares Deos multos, sed natu- CAP. XIX.
ralem unum præcipuum: [18]Speusippum vim naturalem animalem, qua omnia regantur, Deum nosse.
9 Quid [19]Democritus? quamvis atomorum primus inventor, nonne plerumque naturam, [20]quæ imagines fundat, et intelligentiam Deum loquitur? [21]Straton quoque et ipse naturam: etiam Epicurus ille, qui [22]deos aut otiosos fingit aut nullos, naturam
10 tamen superponit. [23]Aristoteles variat, et adsignat

earumque naturam in deorum numero refert; tum illam naturam, quæ imagines fundat ac mittat: tum scientiam intelligentiamque nostram. Cf. c. 43, *de Finn.* i. 15: Augustine *Ep.* 118, p. 340.

atomorum primus inventor. Lactantius ascribes the discovery of the Atomic theory to Leucippus, "a quo Democritus eruditus hæreditatem stultitiæ reliquit Epicuro:" *Div. Inst.* iii. 17. 23. Cf. Cic. *Ep. ad Div.* xv. 16. *Intelligentiam,* i. e. ἔννοιαν, πρόληψιν, "innate conception."

[20] *quæ imagines fundat.* Simulacra, εἴδωλα, quibus incidentibus visum peragi Democritus existimavit. Diogen. Laert. lib. ix. § 44: Δημοκρίτῳ δοκεῖ ὁρᾶν ἡμᾶς κατ' εἰδώλων ἐμπτώσεις: Cic. *de Divin.* lib. ii.; *N. D.* i. 12. DAVIES.

[21] *Straton et ipse naturam:* sc. Deum esse loquitur. At quam tandem naturam? Audi Ciceronem *N. D.* Lib. i. cap. 13: "Strato, is, qui physicus appellatur, omnem vim divinam in natura sitam esse censet, quæ causas gignendi, augendi, minuendi habeat: sed careat omni sensu et figura." Lactantius, *de Ira Dei,* c. x. § 1: Naturam vero, ut ait Straton, habere in se vim gignendi et minuendi: sed eam nec sensum habere ullum, nec figuram. Hinc Straton Maximo Tyrio *Diss.* 1. ὑπάλλαξαι Θεοῦ φύσιν dicitur. Pariter Seneca refert hunc fecisse *Deum sine animo.* Vide sis Augustinum *Civ. D.* lib. vi. c. 10. Quæ cum ita sint, immerito prorsus iis accensetur, qui unitatem providentiæ defenderunt. Purus putus erat Atheus, et de providentia vel unius vel plurium ne minime quidem somniavit. DAVIES.

[22] *deos aut otiosos fingit aut nullos.* Τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει, οὔτε ἄλλῳ παρέχει. But the opinion that God does not concern himself in the government of the world must unavoidably terminate in *absolute atheism,* as is demonstrated by Clark, *Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Religion,* p. 157, sqq.: Hence Cicero says of him: verbis reliquit deos, re sustulit: *de Nat. Deor.* i. 30. *Naturam tamen superponit.* Absone quidem Minucius Epicurum nobis ingerit, cum id agat ut monstret nobiliores philosophos unum modo rerum omnium moderatorem statuisse: nam natura, quemadmodum ille censuit, non vivens erat ac sentiens, sed atomi tantum pro variis concursibus hoc vel illud efficientes. Vide Ciceron. *N. D.* lib. i. c. 20. DAVIES.

[23] *Aristoteles.* Cicero, *l. c.* cap.

CAP. XIX. tamen unam potestatem. Nam interim mentem, mundum interim Deum dicit, interim mundo Deum præficit. [24] Heraclides Ponticus quoque Deo divinam mentem, quamvis varie, adscribit. [25] Theophrastus, 11
et Zenon, et Chrysippus, et Cleanthes, sunt et ipsi multiformes, sed ad unitatem providentiæ omnes revolvuntur. [26] Cleanthes enim mentem, modo animum, modo æthera, plerumque rationem Deum disseruit. [27] Zenon, ejusdem magister, naturalem 12
legem atque divinam, et æthera interim, interdumque rationem, vult omnium esse principium. Idem interpretando Junonem aëra, Jovem cœlum, Nep-

xiii: "Aristoteles multa turbat, a magistro Platone uno dissentiens: modo enim menti tribuit omnem divinitatem: modo mundum ipsum Deum dicit esse: modo quendam alium præficit mundo": Lactant. *I.* 5. 22: Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* xv. 4: Plutarch, *de Placit. Phil.* cap. vii. Vid. Aristot. *de gener.* c. ii; *de divin.* c. xii; *de mundo*, c. vii. *Interim—interim*, i. q. modo—modo: so below, § 12: in this sense it is not found till the age of Quintilian: Hand, *Tursell.* iii. p. 427. *Interim* and *interdum* in later writers interchange meaning: comp. ch. xxvii. § 1. Hildebrand, Apulej. *Metam.* Vol. i. p. 139.

[24] *Heraclides Ponticus:* Cicero, *l. c.:* Ponticus Heraclides modo mundum, tum mentem divinam esse putat: errantibus enim stellis divinitatem tribuit, sensuque Deum privat, et ejus formam mutabilem esse vult. Before *Heraclides* the MS. has the following sentence inserted: *Aristoteles Ponticus variat, alias mundo, alias menti divinæ tribuens principatum:* which some editors, as Davies, retain, transposing them after *adscribit*, with the omission, of course, of the three first words.

[25] *Theophrastus.* Cicero, *l. c.:* "nec vero Theophrasti inconstantia ferenda est: modo enim menti divinum tribuit principatum: modo cœlo: tum autem signis sideribusque cœlestibus."

[26] *Cleanthes:* Cicero, *l. c.* cap. xiv: "Cleanthes autem, qui Zenonem audivit, tum ipsum mundum Deum dicit esse: tum totius naturæ menti atque animo tribuit hoc nomen: tum ultimum et altissimum atque undique circumfusum, extremum omnia cingentem atque complexum ardorem, qui æther nominetur, certissimum Deum judicat"; and "nihil ratione censet esse divinius". Lactant. *D. I.* c. 5. 19; Tertullian *Apolog.* c. 21.

[27] *Zeno:* Cicero, *l. l.* cap. xiv: Zeno naturalem legem divinam esse censet, eamque vim obtinere recta imperantem, prohibentemque contraria.—Alio loco æthera Deum dicit—Quum vero Hesiodi theogoniam interpretatur tollit omnino usitatas

tunum mare, ignem esse Vulcanum, et ceteros similiter vulgi deos elementa esse monstrando, pub-
13 licum arguit graviter et revincit errorem. [28]Eadem fere Chrysippus, vim divinam, rationalem naturam, et mundum interim, et fatalem necessitatem Deum credit, Zenonemque interpretatione physiologiæ in Hesiodi, Homeri, Orpheique carminibus imitatur.
14 [29]Babylonio etiam Diogeni disciplina est exponendi et disserendi, Jovis partum, et ortum Minervæ, et hoc genus cetera, rerum vocabula esse, non deo-
15 rum. [30]Nam Socraticus Xenophon formam Dei veri negat videri posse et ideo quæri non oportere.

perceptasque cognitiones Deorum; neque enim Jovem, neque Junonem, neque Vestam neque quenquam, qui ita appellatur, in Deorum habet numero, sed rebus inanimis atque mutis per quandam significationem hæc docet tributa nomina. Comp. Diogen. Laert. vii. §§ 135, 147. Tertullian. *adv. Marcion.* I. 13. *Interim—interdum:* see note 23.

interpretando Junonem aëra etc. Comp. Cic. *N. D.* ii. c. xxvi: aër autem, ut Stoici disputant, interjectus inter mare et cœlum, Junonis nomine consecratur: Athenag. *leg. pro Chr.* p. 23. § xviii: Ζεὺς ἡ ζέουσα οὐσία κατὰ τοὺς Στοϊκούς· Ἥρα, ὁ ἀὴρ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος, εἰ αὐτὸ αὐτῷ ἐπισυνάπτοιτο συνεκφωνουμένου· Ποσειδῶν, ἡ πόσις: Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* c. v. § 64, p. 56 *ed. Potter:* Plutarch, *de Plac. Philos.* lib. I. c. vii.

[28] *eadem fere Chrysippus*, sc. credit. A similar observation is made by Cicero, *l. l.* xv: Chrysippus ait vim divinam in ratione esse positam et universæ naturæ animo atque mente: ipsumque mundum deum esse dicit; tum fatalem vim et necessitatem rerum futurarum nuncupat. Comp. Lactant. i. 5. 20, and see Diog. Laert. lib. vii.; Plutarch, *de Plac. Phil.* chh. vii, viii.

[29] *Babylonio etiam Diogeni:* Cicero *ibid.:* "in eo libro, qui inscribitur *de Minerva*, partum Jovis, ortumque virginis ad Physiologiam traducens disjungit a fabula." *Disciplina est exponendi*, 'his system is to explain.' Some observations on the various meanings of *disciplina* will be found in Dr Woodham's Tertullian, *Apol.* ch. xxxv. p. 118. *Ceterarum rerum vocabula* is the MS. reading, for which Gronovius in his unpublished notes suggests: *cetera* tum *rerum*, i. e. tantum.

[30] *nam ... Xenophon.* "For as to Xenophon, I need not tell you that he as a pupil of Socrates &c." On the use of *nam* see Hand's *Tursellinus*, Vol. iv. p. 9. "Respicit ad hæc Socratis verba, quæ leguntur apud Xenophontem *Mem.* lib. iv. cap. 3, § 13: ὅτι δέ γε ἀληθῆ λέγω καὶ σὺ γνώσῃ, ἂν μὴ ἀναμένῃς, ἕως ἂν τὰς μορφὰς τῶν θεῶν ἰδῇς·

CAP. XIX. [31]Aristo Chius, comprehendi omnino non posse. Uterque majestatem Dei, intelligendi desperatione, senserunt. Platoni apertior de Deo, [32]et rebus ipsis 16
et nominibus oratio est: et quæ tota esset cœlestis, [33]nisi persuasionis civilis nonnunquam admixtione sordesceret. Platoni itaque [34]in Timæo Deus est 17
ipso suo nomine mundi parens, artifex animæ, cœlestium terrenorumque fabricator: quem et invenire difficile præ nimia et incredibili potestate et quum inveneris, in publicum dicere impossibile præfatur. Eadem fere et ista quæ nostra sunt. 18

ἀλλ' ἐξαρκῇ σοι, τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ὁρῶντι, σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς θεούς. Vide Ciceron. *Nat. Deor.* i.12; Lactantium *de Ira Dei* [cap. ii. 5]; cap. xi. [§ 13]." DAVIES.

[31] *Aristo:* Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* i. 14; Aristo neque formam Dei intelligi posse censet, neque in diis sensum esse dicit, dubitatque omnino Deus animans necne sit.

[32] *et rebus ipsis et nominibus.* Vult Minucius, Platonem non vero tantum nomine sed et rectis attributis summum Numen insigniisse, cum Deum factorem parentemque omnium prædicat. Vide sis Clementem *Recogn.* lib. viii. cap. 20. DAVIES. *Cœlestis oratio* is, as Lindner explains, "oratio cœlesti revelationi consentanea, christiana."

[33] *nisi persuasionis civilis admixtione sordesceret,* 'were it not here and there debased by a mixture of popular prejudices,' h. e. had he not complied too far with the vanities of his fellow-citizens, and alloyed his discourses with the errors in fashion. LE NOURRY. Hence Justin Martyr, *Cohort.* p. 21, says of him: τοὺς τὴν πολυθεότητα ἀσπαζομένους δεδιὼς τὰ ἐναντία ἑαυτῷ τὸν κατ' αὐτὸν δημιουργὸν εἰσάγει λέγοντα. Cf. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* xiii. 14.

[34] *in Timæo.* The following is the passage referred to: τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν: *Timæ.* § 9, p. 28. Origen, *c. Cels.* lib. vii. p. 360, enters into a full examination of Plato's meaning in this passage, which had been made use of by Celsus against the Christians. Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* p. 6, after quoting the passage and adding that Plato meant ἕνα ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀΐδιον θεόν, sums up thus: εἰ τοίνυν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄθεος Πλάτων ἕνα τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων νοῶν ἀγέννητον Θεόν· οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἄθεοι, ὑφ' οὗ λόγῳ δεδημιούργηται καὶ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ πνεύματι συνέχεται τὰ πάντα, τοῦτον εἰδότες καὶ κρατοῦντες Θεόν: i. e. "If then Plato is not an atheist, when he conceives the Creator of the Universe to be one; neither are we atheists, in recognising and holding fast that being as GOD, by whose word all things were

Nam et Deum novimus, et parentem omnium dicimus et numquam publice, nisi interrogati, prædicamus. CAP. XIX.

Exposui opiniones omnium ferme philosophorum, quibus illustrior gloria est, [1]Deum unum multis licet designasse nominibus: ut quivis arbitretur, aut nunc Christianos philosophos esse, aut 2 philosophos fuisse jam tunc Christianos. Quodsi providentia mundus regitur, et unius Dei nutu gubernatur, [2]non nos debet antiquitas imperitorum, fabellis suis delectata vel capta, ad errorem mutui CAP. XX. We should not plead antiquity in defence of the popular belief when it can neither stand the test of reason, and is contradicted by a long array of philosophers from the earliest times:

created, as by his spirit they are sustained." Comp. Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* ii. § xi.; Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* cap. vi. § 64, p. 59 *ed. Potter: πῇ δὴ οὖν ἐξιχνητέον τὸν θεὸν, ὦ Πλάτων; τὸν γὰρ πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς ἅπαντας ἐξειπεῖν ἀδύνατον. διὰ τί δῆτα; ὦ πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ῥητέος γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἐστίν· εὖ γε, ὦ Πλάτων, ἐπαφᾶσαι τῆς ἀληθείας· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποκάμῃς· ξύν μοι λαβοῦ τῆς ζητήσεως τἀγαθοῦ πέρι· πᾶσιν γὰρ ἁπαξαπλῶς ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δε τοῖς περὶ λόγους ἐνδιατρίβουσιν ἐνέστακταί τις ἀπόῤῥοια θεικὴ, οὗ δὴ χάριν καὶ ἄκοντες μὲν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἕνα τε εἶναι Θεὸν, ἀνώλεθρον καὶ ἀγεννητον τοῦτον, ἄνω ποὺ περὶ τὰ νῶτα τοῦ οὐράνου ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ καὶ οἰκείᾳ περιωπῇ ὄντως ὄντα ἀεί.* Euseb. *Præpar. Evang.* Lib. xiii. cap. 14: Lactant. *de Fals. Relig.* viii. 1: "Hic igitur tot et tantis testibus comprobatur unius Dei potestate ac providentia mundum gubernari, cujus vim, majestatemque tantam esse dicit in *Timæo* Plato, ut eam neque mente concipere neque verbis enarrare quisquam possit ob nimiam et inæstimabilem potestatem": *de Ira Dei*, c. xi. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xlvi.: "licet Plato affirmet factitatorem universitatis neque inveniri facilem et inventum enarrari difficilem in omnes." Comp. Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. i. p. 34.

Ch. XX. [1] *Deum unum etc.* This sentence is an epexegesis of the one preceding: 'I have set forth the opinions of the most eminent philosophers; to wit that they, etc.' A similar observation is made by Augustine *de Vera Relig.* cap. iv: "itaque si hanc vitam illi viri nobiscum rursum agere potuissent, viderent profecto cujus auctoritate facilius consideretur hominibus et paucis mutatis verbis atque sententiis Christiani fierent, sicut plerique sequentiorum nostrorumque temporum Platonici fecerunt". Comp. Athenag. *Legat. pro Chr.* p. 7.

[2] *non nos debet antiquitas imperitorum etc.*, "the ignorant and un-"educated part of antiquity, charmed "and captivated as they were with "their own pretty fables, ought not "to hurry *us* into a participation

CAP. XX. rapere consensus: quum philosophorum suorum sententiis refellatur, quibus et rationis et vetus-

For indeed in the dark ages, our ancestors who were prone to believe all sorts of monstrous fables, metamorphoses of men into animals, &c.

tatis adsistit auctoritas. Majoribus enim nostris 3
tam facilis in mendaciis fides fuit, ut temere crediderint etiam alia monstruosa [3]mira miracula: Scyllam multiplicem, chimæram multiformem et hydram felicibus vulneribus renascentem et Centauros, equos suis hominibus implexos: et quidquid famæ licet fingere, [4]illis erat libenter audire. Quid? illas 4
aniles fabulas, de hominibus aves et [5]feras omnes, et de hominibus arbores atque flores; quæ si essent facta, fierent; [6]quia fieri non possunt, ideo nec facta sunt. [7]Similiter vero, ac erga deos quoque majores 5
nostri improvidi, creduli, rudi simplicitate credi-

shewed no less credulity in investing the worthies of their times with the dignity and title of gods out of affection for their memory.

"in error, especially when they are "confuted by the opinions of their "own *philosophers*, who have the "support of reason as well as the "prestige of antiquity." Comp. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* c. x. § 89, p. 72 *ed. Potter. Antiquitas imperitorum*, for imperiti antiquitatis s. antiquorum: see note on ch. vi. § 5. Comp. Sallust, *Catil.* c. viii: scriptorum magna ingenia, 'writers of great genius.' [Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* iv. v. 203: pro magna teste vetustas creditur. J. GR.]

[3] *mira miracula*, 'incredible prodigies.' Davies defends the MS. reading by instancing similar expressions, as; *gratas gratias*, Apulej. *Metam.* I. c. xx: IX. c. xiii: *merum merum*, Auson. *Epigr.* 20: *mala malitia*, Plaut. *Aulul.* Act. II. Sc. ii. v. 38.

[4] *illis erat libenter audire*, h. e. libenter audiebant. Propertius I. xx. 13:

Ne tibi sit duro montes et frigida saxa
Galle, nec expertes semper adire lacus.

ubi *ne tibi sit adire*, est, ne velis adire. LINDNER.

[5] *feras omnes*, 'animals of all kinds.' The MS. has *homines*. I have adopted the correction proposed by Hildebrand. ad Apulej. *Metam.* p. 1001. *De hominibus*, i. q. ex hominibus; Bünemann ad Lactant. p. 608.

[6] *quia fieri non possunt.* Hoc axiomate monstruosas Poetarum fabulas et Ethnici jugularunt. Palæphatus *de Incred.* Præfat.: *αἱ* (*μορφαὶ*) *νῦν οὐκ εἰσὶ, τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ ἐγένετο, εἰ γὰρ τότε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐγένετο καὶ νῦν τε γίγνεται καὶ αὖθις ἔσται.* Ita tamen certum et perpetuum non est hoc enunciatum, quin cautione sit opus, ne in rem suam id deflectant profani. DAVIES. Comp. ch. xxiii. § 5.

[7] *similiter vero ac*, "just in sooth, as in respect of the gods also." On

derunt: dum reges suos colunt religiose, dum de- CAP. XX.
functos eos desiderant in imaginibus videre, dum gestiunt eorum memorias in statuis detinere; sacra
6 facta sunt, quæ fuerant adsumpta solatia. Denique et antequam commerciis orbis pateret, et antequam gentes ritus suos moresque miscerent, unaquæque natio conditorem suum, aut ducem inclutum, aut reginam pudicam sexu suo fortiorem, aut alicujus [8]muneris vel artis repertorem venerabatur, ut civem bonæ memoriæ: sic et defunctis præmium et futuris dabatur exemplum.

Lege [1]Stoicorum scripta vel scripta sapientium, CAP. XXI.
2 eadem mecum recognosces. Ob merita virtutis aut muneris deos habitos, [2]Euhemerus exsequitur; et

Testimony of writers belonging to the school of the *Stoics* to the fact that their gods were

this sense of *erga*, see Hand's *Tursell.* ii. 439. [Fortasse, *ac simili veterno*, ut similis transpositio, xix. § 10, *alias etc.*: 'æruginosi animi veternus,' ad Senec. p. 276. J. GR.] For the argument, comp. Cic. *de N. D.* ii. 24; Lactant. I. cap. viii. § 8; cap. xv.; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ii. 7; Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* i. 9. p. 20.

[8] *muneris vel artis repertorem.* Cf. Lactant. *Inst. Div.* I. xi. 45; xv. 2; xviii. *tot.*: VII. xiv. 1: Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* I. 6. *Reginam:* [ut deos deasque notaret, quum τὸ ἄῤῥεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ παρὰ θεοῖς, inquiunt Hipparchus *ap. Suidam*; Lucian. *in Tox.* 48. J. GR.]

Ch. XXI. [1] *Stoicorum:* Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus. Cic. *de N. D.* ii. 24. *Vel scripta sapientium*, "or the records of *other* sages." See above cap. xiii. § 3 and comp. below ch. xxvi. § 11.

[2] *Euhemerus.* Vide Index *s. v.* Lactant. *Inst.* I. xi. 33: antiquus auctor Euhemerus, qui fuit ex civitate Messanæ, res gestas Jovis et ceterorum qui dii putantur collegit historiamque contexuit ex titulis et inscriptionibus sacris, quæ in antiquissimis templis habebantur..... Hanc historiam et interpretatus est Ennius et secutus; cf. Cic. *de Nat. D.* i. 42: Arnob. *adv. nat.* lib. iv. c. 29; Augustine *de C. D.* vi. 7; vii. 26; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* II. 4; Clem. Alexandr. *Protrept.* p. 20; Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osirid.* cap. xxiii. V. *Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscript.* Vol viii; Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 29.

Exsequitur, "pursues his theory."

Dictæi Jovis Sepulcrum. Comp. Theoph. *ad Aut.* ii. 7; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* § 37, p. 32 *ed. Potter:* Origen. *c. Cels.* Lib. iii. p. 137: Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* iii. 10, and on the epithet *Dictæi*, Virgil *Georg.* iv. 152; Lucr. ii. 637.

CAP. XXI. but *deified heroes:* and exposure of the absurdity and vanity displayed in the worship of several of them.

eorum natales, patrias, sepulcra dinumerat et per provincias monstrat: Dictæi Jovis et Apollinis Delphici et Phariæ Isidis et Cereris Eleusinæ. [3]Prodicus adsumtos in deos loquitur, qui errando, inventis novis frugibus, utilitati hominum profuere. In eandem sententiam et [4]Persæus philosophatur, 3
et adnectit inventas fruges et frugum ipsarum repertores iisdem nominibus, ut Comicus sermo est: *Venerem sine Libero et Cerere frigere.* [5]Alexander 4
ille magnus Macedo insigni volumine ad matrem

[3] *Prodicus.* The MS. has *prodigiis.* Cicero, *de N. D.* i. 42: Quid? Prodicus Chius, qui ea quæ prodessent hominum vitæ, Deorum in numero habita esse dixit, quam tandem religionem reliquit?

[4] *Persæus.* Cicero, *l. c.* 15: Persæus Zenonis auditor, eos dicit esse habitos deos, a quibus magna utilitas ad vitæ cultum esset inventa, ipsasque res utiles deorum vocabulis esse nuncupatas ut ne hoc quidem diceret illa inventa esse deorum, sed ipsa divina. Comp. *ibid.* ii. 23, and Diog. Laert. vii. § 13, § 54; Athenæ. *Deipnos.* Lib. iv. cap. 17; Athenag. *leg. pro Chr.* p. 24. cap. 19: τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ μόρια θεοποιοῦσι, ἀλλότε ἄλλα ὀνόματα αὐτοῖς τιθέμενοι· τὴν μὲν τοῦ σίτου σποράν Ὄσιριν· τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἀμπέλου καρπὸν Διόννσον: Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* § 26, p. 22 *Potter:* οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς φυομένων τοὺς ἡμέρους δρεπόμενοι καρποὺς, Δήω τὸν σῖτον, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Διόννυσον τὴν ἄμπελον, ὡς Θηβαῖοι, προσηγόρευσαν.

Comicus sermo est. Terence, *Eunuch.* Act. iv. Sc. 5, v. 5; quoted in Cicero, *N. D.* ii. 23.

[5] *Alexander.* Athenagoras mentions this epistle of Alexander, the son of Philip, to his mother Olympias, concerning the priests' way of making gods of men, and quotes a passage out of Herodotus to the same purpose, *Leg. pro Christ.* p. 31, cap. xxiv. So does Augustine *de Civ. Dei,* viii. 5. 27: xii. 10; *de Consens. Evang.* i. 23; and Cyprian, *de Id. Van.* c. ii. 2. Rigaltius, Jablonsky, and others, regard the letter as a forgery in favour of Christianity; but Bp Fell settles the questions by appealing to the testimony of a heathen, viz. Plutarch *Vit. Alexandr.* Tom. ii. p. 680; *Cyprian,* p. 12 *ed. Oxon.* Comp. Fabricius *Bibl. Gr.* ii. 10. 17.

[6] *sacerdote:* particularised under the name of Leo by Augustin, *C. D.* viii. 5. There is mention made of one Leo Pellæus by Arnobius, iv. 29; and Tatian, *or. c. Gr.* § 27; Clem. Alex. *Stromm.* i. c. 21, § 106. *Illi:* sc. Alexandro: or perhaps another form of *illic,* sc. in epistola.

[7] *Vulcanum.* The same as Phtha in the Egyptian mythology. Ἔνιοι δε τῶν ἱερέων φασὶ πρῶτον Ἥφαιστον βασιλεῦσαι, πυρὸς εὑρέτην γενόμενον. Diodor. Sic. i. 15.

suam scripsit, metu suæ potestatis proditum sibi de diis hominibus a [6]sacerdote secretum: illi [7]Vulcanum facit omnium principem et postea Jovis gentem. [8]Et despice sis Isidis ad hirundinem, sistrum et ad sparsis membris inanem tui [9]Serapidis sive Osiridis tumulum; considera denique sacra ipsa et ipsa mysteria: invenies exitus tristes, fata et funera et luctus atque planctus miserorum deorum. CAP. XXI.

7 Isis [10]perditum filium [11]cum Cynocephalo suo et [12]calvis sacerdotibus luget, plangit, inquirit: et

[8] *et despice sis Isidis.* Si dubitas an mortui sint, *dispice, si vis, etc.* LINDNER. The MS. reads *et de spicis.* All sorts of conjectures have been advanced on the meaning of this sentence, which Rigaltius interprets literally. Cellarius suggested *despice*, but the reading which I have introduced is a nearer approximation to that of the MS. Again, most Edd. have *ad* (i. e. juxta) *hirundinem sistrum.* "Isis enim," says Lindner, "depingebatur cum hi-"rundine avicula et sistro. Erat "vero, ut sistrum instrumentum, ita "hirundo animal, querulum et lucti-"bus aptum." Plutarch *de Isid. et Osir.* p. 357 C: αὐτὴν (Ἰσίδα) γενομένην χελιδόνα τῇ κιόνι περιπέτεσθαι καὶ θρηνεῖν: where, however, Salmasius interprets χελιδὼν to mean "a serpent," the symbol of Isis. Others interpret *ad hirundinem sistrum*, "sistrum hirundinino similem." See Hand, *Tursell.* i. p. 110. By the simple change of punctuation, which I have given, a better sense is elicited. Hildebrand has appended a disquisition on the origin of the name and the form of the *sistrum* to his edition of Apuleius, Vol. ii. p. 644, sqq.

[9] *Serapidis sive Osiridis tui:* in allusion to Ch. ii. § 5. Lactant. *I. D.* i. 21, 22: Hic est Osiris, quem Serapim vel Serapidem vulgus appellat. Solent enim mortuis consecratis nomina immutari; credo, ne quis putet eos homines fuisse. Lindner remarks: "Osiris est sol, æque "ac Serapis, at vero alio respectu, "quatenus nimirum annorum causa "est et tempora efficit. Sol enim "sive Osiris quatuor habet sym-"bola, Ammonem, Horum, Se-"rapim, et Harpocratem h. e. "Solem in duobus æquinoctiis et "solstitiis." Plutarch *de Isid.* p. 362; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* II. c. 1.

[10] *perditum filium*, i. e. Harpocratem. Vide Index I. *s. v.* Comp. Lactant. I. xxi. 20: "Isidis Ægyptia sacra sunt, quatenus filium parvulum vel perdiderit vel invenerit. Nam primo sacerdotes ejus, deglabrato corpore, sua corpora tundunt, lamentantur, sicut ipsa, quum perdidit, fecerat. Deinde puer producitur quasi inventus et in lætitiam luctus ille mutatur. Ideo Lucanus

nunquamque satis quæsitus Osiris.

[11] *cum Cynocephalo*, i. e. Anubide. Vide Index *s. v.*

[12] *calvis sacerdotibus.* The MS.

CAP. XXI. [13]Isiaci miseri cædunt pectora, et dolorem infelicissimæ matris imitantur: mox, invento parvulo, gaudet Isis, [14]exultant sacerdotes, Cynocephalus inventor gloriatur: nec desinunt annis omnibus vel perdere quod inveniunt, vel invenire quod perdunt. Nonne ridiculum est, vel [15]lugere quod colas, vel 8
colere quod lugeas? hæc tamen Ægyptia quondam, nunc et [16]sacra Romana sunt.

Ceres facibus accensis et serpente [17]circumda- 9
ta errore subreptam et corruptam Liberam anxia et sollicita vestigat. Hæc sunt Eleusinia.

reading is *aliis*. Artemid. *Oneir.* i. 23; et Prudent. *adv. Symmach.* i. [v. 360]: Martial. *Epigr.* xxix. 12:

Linigeri fugiunt calvi, sistrataque turba.

Apulej. *Metam.* xi. 10; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 533,

Qui grege linigero circumdatus et grege calvo,
Plangentis populi currit derisor Anubis.

[13] *Isiaci cædunt pectora:* τύπτονται (οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι) ἐντοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰ στήθη κατὰ τὰς πανηγύρεις ὡς ἐπὶ τετελευτηκόσι, καὶ θύουσιν ὡς θεοῖς. Athenag. *Leg.* p. 14, cap. xii.

[14] *exultant sacerdotes:* Juvenal. *Satir.* viii. vs. 29:

Exclamare libet, populus quod clamat Osiri Invento.

Scholiastes vetus: populus Ægypti invento Osiri dixit: Εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν. Vid. Firmicus Maternus, *de Errore Profan. Relig.* p. 6 et 8, ac Augustinus *de Civitate Dei*, lib. vi. cap. 10. ELMENHORST.

[15] *lugere quod colas.* Cf. Clem. Alexand. *Cohort.* c. x. § 91, p. 74: ἰδέτω τις ὑμῶν τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς εἰδώλοις λατρεύοντας...ἔργῳ δεικνύντας τῶν εἰδώλων τὰ τεμένη τάφους τινὰς ἢ δεσμωτήρια· οὗτοι μοι δοκοῦσι πενθεῖν, οὐ θρησκεύειν τοὺς θεούς, ἐλέου μᾶλλον ἢ θεοσεβείας ἄξια πεπονθότες.

[16] *sacra Romana sunt.* Tertullian *Apolog.* c. vi.; *ad Nat.* i. 10. The worship of Serapis was prohibited within the walls, and the altars destroyed by the senate, Dio xl. 47; xlii. 26: they were restored by popular tumult, but forbidden by Gabinius chiefly, B.C. 58, (Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* ii. 73). Afterwards, M. Æmilius Paulus himself broke down the temple (Val. Max. i. 3). The worship was subsequently restored by Augustus in the triumvirate (Dio xlvii. 15; Augustine *de C.D.* xi. 4; Lucan, *Phars.* xiii. 83).

[17] *circumdata.* Davies and Lindner prefer the reading *circumlata*, i. e. 'circumvecta,' to that of the MS., quoting Ovid. *Fast.* iv. 491:

frenatos curribus angues
Jungit et æquoreas sicca pererrat aquas:

Liberam, i. e. Proserpina. Cicero *in Verr.* II. iv. 48: *N. D.* ii. 24.

Eleusinia sc. sacra, mysteria.

[18] *nutrix capella.* Amalthæa. Callimachus *Hymn. in Jov.* v. 48:

10 Et quæ Jovis sacra sunt? [18]nutrix capella est, et avido patri subtrahitur infans, ne voretur: et Corybantum cymbalis, ne pater audiat, vagitus [19]imitus eliditur. CAP. XXI.

11 [20]Cybelæ Dyndima pudet dicere, quæ [21]adulterum suum infeliciter placitum, quoniam et ipsa deformis et vetula ut multorum deorum mater ad stuprum inlicere non poterat, exsecuit, ut deum 12 scilicet faceret eunuchum. Propter hanc fabulam [22]Galli eam et semiviri sui corporis supplicio colunt. Hæc jam non sunt sacra: tormenta sunt.

σὺ δ' ἐθύσαο πίονα μαζὸν
Αἰγὸς Ἀμαλθείης·

hoc est: *tu autem traxisti pingue uber capræ Amaltheæ.* Schol. ibi: Ἀμαλθείης: Οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ αἶξ τὸν Δία θρέψασα. Lactantius, Lib. I. cap. xxi. § 38, *Capella est Amaltheæ nymphæ,* distinguens Amaltheam a capella. Cellarius. Cf. Tertull. *Apol.* cap. xxv.

[19] *imitus eliditur* is the happy conjecture of Hildebrand, (*Apul.* i. p. 245) for the MS. reading *initus.* The usual reading is *ne pater audiat vagitus, tinnitus eliditur.* But *tinnitum elidere* appears to me a very inexpressive phrase: though I can understand *sibilum elidere* (Cels. iv.) and *sonum elidere similem sternutamento,* which are both quoted in support of the reading. Compare the use of this verb below, ch. xxx. 2. The *Corybantes* were the priests of Cybele, to whom Virgil alludes, *Georg.* iv. 169, 64:

Tinnitusque cie et matris quate cymbala circum.

Strabo, *Geograph.* xx. p. 478; and Ovid *Fast.* iv. 210:

Ardua jam dudum resonans tinnitibus Ida,
Tutus ut infanti vagiat ore puer:
Pars manibus clypeos, galeas pars tundit inanes,
Hoc Curetes habent, hoc Corybantes opus.

[20] *Cybelæ Dyndima:* loca, ubi concelebrabantur solemnia pro ipsis solemnibus. Oehler. Comp. Virgil. *Georg.* i. 32; Lucan, *Phars.* ii. 240, speaks of:

Sanguineis ululantia Dyndima Gallis.

Another reading is *Cybele Dyndimena (pudet dicere) quæ.*

[21] *adulterum* sc. Attin. Catullus, *Carm.* lxi: Augustin. *C. D.* vi. 7; Arnob. *adv. Nat.* v. 6, 7.

[22] *Galli ... et semiviri,* "her votaries themselves *also* eunuchs." Ovid. *Fast.* iv. 223, sqq.; Juv. *Sat.* viii. 175: Pers. *Sat.* v. 186: Tatian. *or. ad Græc.* p. 36 c, *ed. Otto.* They were so called after a river Gallus in Phrygia, whose water was said to drive them mad. Ovid. *ib.* v. 363:

Inter ... viridem Cybelen, altasque Celænas.
Amnis it insana, nomine Gallus, aqua.
Qui bibit, inde furit.

On *jam non* see above, ch. xii. § 4.

CAP. XXI.

The various *representations* of the gods are a mockery of them and as extravagant as the

[23] Quid formæ ipsæ et habitus? nonne arguunt 13 ludibria et dedecora deorum vestrorum? [24] Vulcanus claudus deus et debilis: [25] Apollo tot ætatibus lævis: [26] Æsculapius bene barbatus, etsi semper adolescentis Apollinis filius: Neptunus glaucis oculis, Minerva cæsiis, bubulis Juno, pedibus Mercurius alatis, Pan ungulatis, Saturnus compeditis: Janus vero frontes duas gestat, [27] quasi ut aversus incedat.

[23] *Quid formæ?* [Ovid. vi. *Met.* 73.

sua quemque deorum
Inscribit facies.

J. GR.]

Comp. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* § 57, p. 50 *ed. Potter*; ἐναπομέμακται πάνυ δὴ σαφῶς τὰ εἴδη τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν δαιμόνων. εἰ γοῦν τις τὰς γραφὰς καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα περινοστῶν θεῷτο, γνωριεῖ ὑμῶν παραυτίκα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπονειδίστων σχημάτων.

[24] *Vulcanus claudus*: ἀμφιγυήεις. Cf. Cic. *Nat. Deor.* i. 30; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* c. vii. § 76, p. 65, and cap. ii. § 29, Ἥφαιστος δὲ, ὃν ἔρριψεν ἐξ Ὀλύμπου Ζεὺς

βηλοῦ ἀπὸ θεσπεσίοιο,
ἐν Λήμνῳ καταπεσὼν ἐχάλκευε πηρωθεὶς τὼ πόδε·
ὑπὸ δὲ κνῆμαι ῥώοντο ἀραιαί.

(ex Hom. *Il.* α. 591: σ. 410).

Debilis is properly 'mancus, mutilus,' i. e. one "who has sustained a loss or injury of limb." Comp. Cicer. *Finn.* v. 28: bona integritas corporis, misera debilitas. See Græv. ad Cicer. *Rabir.* c. 7, p. 81.

[25] *Apollo tot ætatibus levis.* "Apollo as beardless for all his age." Comp. Horace *Carm.* iv. vi. 28; Lactantius (*ubi infra*).

[26] *Æsculapius bene barbatus.* "Barbatus fingebatur, senilis prudentiæ medico necessariæ significandæ causa." Cellarius ad Lact. ii. iv. 18, where the story of Dionysius is told in nearly the same words as by Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* iii. 34: auream barbam demens Æsculapio incongruens et iniquum esse ait, quum Apollo pater ejus imberbis esset adhuc ac lævis. Comp. Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* vi. 21.

Semper adolescentis. See *note* 3 on ch. xxx. § 1.

[27] *quasi ut incedat.* Codicis MS. lectionem unice veram tuetur Plauti locus *Mercat.* i. i. 90: "Servom una mittit, qui olim a puero parvulo mihi pædagogus fuerat, *quasi ut* mihi foret custos." Item Lactantii iii. 24, 10, ubi Büenemann. Lindner. Apuleius has *quasi velut, de Deo Socr.* p. 106 *ed. Hildebr.*

On *Janus bifrons*, see the comm. on Ovid. *Fast.* i. 95; Plutarch, *Qu. Rom.* 40 and 22, 27.

Interim, i. q. interdum. See above ch. xix. 10 *note.*

[28] *Ephesia mammis multis*: Hieronym. ad *Ep. Paul. ad Eph. procem.*: "Dianam illam multimammam, quam Græci πολύμαστον vocant: ut scilicet ex ipsa quoque effigie mentirentur omnium bestiarum et viventium esse naturam."

14 Diana interim est alte succincta venatrix: et [28]Ephesia mammis multis et veribus extructa: et [29]Trivia trinis capitibus, et multis manibus horrifica. Quid? ipse Juppiter vester [30]modo imberbis statuitur, modo barbatus locatur: et [31]quum Hammon dicitur, habet cornua: et quum Capitolinus, tunc gerit fulmina: et [32]quum Latiaris, cruore perfunditur: et [33]quum Feretrius, non aditur. Et CAP. XXI.

et veribus. Some critics read *et uberibus* against MS. authority. By *verubus*, as Lucas Holstenius shews in a disquisition upon this passage, are meant "iron rods by which the statue was fixed in its position and supported." Comp. Arnob. *adv. Nat.* vi. 15; Prudent. *c. Symmach.* Lib. i:

.....Ledeïa proles
Nocturnique equites, celsæ duo numina Romæ,
Impendent retinente veru.

[29] *Trivia trinis capitibus:* Horat. III. *Od.* xxii. 4: Diva triformis: Virg. *Æn.* iv. 541:

Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianæ.

Apulej. *Metam.* xi. 2.

[30] *modo imberbis.* Pausan. *Eliac.* I. 24: ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ζεὺς οὐκ ἔχων πω γένειον: *Achaic.* c. xxiii; Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 437; Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 799:

Circæumque jugum, queis Jupiter Anxurus arvis
Præsidet;

where Anxurus=ἄξυρος answers to *imberbis.*

[31] *quum Hammon dicitur, habet cornua.* Herodot. ii. 42: hence the names κερατοφόρος, κριοπρόσωπος. Lucan IX. 412 de Hammonis oraculo:

.....stat corniger illic
Jupiter, ut memorant, sed non aut fulmine vibrans
Aut similis nostro, sed fortis cornibus Hammon.

CELLARIUS.

[32] *quum Latiaris, cruore perfunditur.* The expression *cruore perfunditur* occurs in Lactant. vii. 20, 1, sancto cruore (i. e. Christi) perfusi: *ibid.* vi. 20, 26: *Epit.* c. 63: Sil. Ital. I. 5, 7. The occasion on which this barbarous rite took place was at the feriæ Latinæ celebrated on the Alban mount. Tatian, *or. ad Gr.* § 29, p. 112, says that his belief in Heathenism was first shaken, after witnessing τὸν κατ' αὐτοὺς (Ῥωμαίους) Λατιάριον Δία λύθροις ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδροκτασιῶν αἵμασι τερπόμενον; Comp. below, ch. xxx. § 4; Justin. M. *Apol.* 11, c. 12, n. 9, p. 199, *ubi v. Otto;* Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 8. p. 165; Tertullian. *Apol.* c. ix; *Scorp.* c. vii; Athanas. *c. Gent.* c. xxv; Lactant. i. 21; Porphyry περὶ ἀποχῆς, ap. Euseb. *Præp. Evan.* I. 16; Cic. *pro Mil.* c. xxxi; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 7.

[33] *quum Feretrius non aditur.* See Liv. I. 10, and for the origin of the name, Plutarch *Vit. Marc.* p. 302: *Non auditur,* which stands in the MS. must mean, if the reading be correct, "is no longer heard of:"

CAP. XXI. [34]ne longius multos Joves obeam, tot sunt Jovis monstra, quot nomina.

romances of their lives and deaths.

[35]Erigone suspensa de laqueo est, ut Virgo inter astra ignita sit. [36]Castores alternis moriuntur, ut vivant: [37]Æsculapius ut in deum surgat, fulminatur: Hercules [38]ut hominem exuat, Œtæis ignibus concrematur. 16

i. e. no longer regarded. But few editors have remained satisfied with it: Wouwer proposes *non aditur*, i. e. "his temple is no longer visited by suppliants:" James Gronovius, *nomen auditur*, i. e. only his name is heard spoken of, there is no statue of him to gaze upon: John F. Gronovius, *Obs. Eccl.* p. 81, *opimis induitur*, sc. spoliis, whose conjecture Cellarius adopts in his text: Perizonius, *pompa aditur*.

[34] *ne longius multos Joves obeam.* Comp. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* cap. 11, § 28, p. 24 *ed. Potter.* *Obeam* sc. oratione. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 51.

[35] *Erigone.* Tatian, *or. c. Gr.* § 9, after speaking of the Κύων Ἠριγόνης, asks how it was that the heaven was unfurnished before the disastrous events which gave rise to the several constellations.

[36] *Castores.* Comp. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* c. ii. § 30; Lactant. i. 10. 5; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ii. 7; Origen. *c. Cels.* iii. p. 123, who quotes Homer *Od.* xi. 331:

ἄλλοτε μὲν ζώουσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
τεθνᾶσιν, τιμὴν δὲ λελόγχασιν ἶσα θεοῖσι.

[37] *Æsculapius fulminatur;* because Pluto complained that he deprived him of visitors to his realms, Pindar *Pyth.* iii. *antistr.* 3: *Æn.* vii. 772, sqq. Comp. Origen, Lactantius *ll. dd.*; Tertull. *Apol.* xiv; Athenag. *Leg.* c. xxv; Arnob. *adv. Nat.* i. 41; iv. 24: Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 25.

[38] *ut hominem exuat,* i. e. humanam naturam deponat. Sic Christus dicitur *induisse hominem* Cypriano *de Idol. Van.* vii. 6. Lindner. For the allusion comp. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* § 30. p. 26: Ἡρακλέα γοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς Ὅμηρος θνητὸν οἶδεν ἄνθρωπον· οὗτος οὖν δύο πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα ἔτη βεβιωκὼς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον διὰ τῆς ἐν Οἴτῃ πυρᾶς κεκηδευμένος.

Ch. XXII. [1] *elaboramus,* "we give them a finish by the very course of our studies and mode of education." *Plurimum quantum,* a Græcism like *nimium quantum, immane quantum,* occurs again in ch. xl. § 1. Cicero makes a similar complaint of the baneful influence of the poets *de N. D.* i. 16: "nec enim multo absurdiora sunt ea, quæ poetarum vocibus fusa, ipsa suavitate nocuerunt: qui et ira inflammatos et libidine furentes induxerunt deos; feceruntque ut eorum bella, pugnas, prælia, vulnera videremus: odia præterea, dissidia, discordias, ortus, interitus, querelas, lamentationes, effusas in omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortalesque ex immortale procreatos." See Graves *on the Pentateuch,* p. 112.

C. XXII.

Has fabulas et errores et ab imperitis parentibus discimus et, quod est gravius, ipsis studiis et disciplinis [1]elaboramus, carminibus præcipue poetarum, qui plurimum quantum veritati ipsi sua 2 auctoritate nocuere. Et Plato ideo præclare [2]Homerum illum inclytum, laudatum et coronatum, de 3 civitate, quam [3]in sermone instituebat, ejecit. [4]Hic

The popular superstition founded upon the *poetical theology*, a system full of the vicious exploits, adulteries, contentions, and other abominations of the gods, and therefore deservedly censured by PLATO.

[2] *Homerum illum inclytum, etc.* The passage of Plato stands thus: ἄνδρα δὴ δυνάμενον ὑπὸ σοφίας παντοδαπὸν γίγνεσθαι καὶ μιμεῖσθαι πάντα χρήματα, εἰ ἡμῖν ἀφίκοιτο εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτός τε καὶ τὰ ποιήματα βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξασθαι, προσκυνοῖμεν ἂν αὐτὸν, ὡς ἱερὸν καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἡδὺν· εἴποιμεν δ' ἂν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρ' ἡμῖν οὔτε θέμις ἐγγενέσθαι, ἀποπέμποιμέν τε εἰς ἄλλην πόλιν, μύρον κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καταχέαντες καὶ ἐρίῳ στέψαντες: *de Rep.* Lib. III. p. 398. See also Lib. II. p. 379, and comp. Origen *c. Cels.* iv. § 36: εὐλόγως ἐκβάλλει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πολιτείας Πλάτων, ὡς ἐπιτρίβοντας τοὺς νέους, τὸν Ὅμηρον καὶ τοὺς τοιαῦτα γράφοντας ποιήματα: and Theodoret περὶ ἀρχῆς, p. 22. 10. *ed. Gaisford:* τί γὰρ τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως ἥδιον; τί δὲ τῆς εὐεπίας ἐκείνης γλυκύτερον; ἀλλ' ὁμῶς τοῦτον τῶν φιλοσόφων ὁ ἄριστος, μύρῳ γε ἀλείψας, ἐκ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ξυντεθείσης ἀπέπεμψε πόλεως, ἀκολασίας καλέσας καὶ δυσσεβείας διδάσκαλον, βλασφημεῖν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐκπαιδεύει τοὺς νέους καὶ πονηρὰς αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐντίθησι δόξας, καὶ ἀπάλοις ἔτι οὖσι μαθήματα πονηρὰ καὶ διεφθαρμένα ἐνίησι (*Rep.* III. p. 398): Cicero also in the *Tusc. Disp.* ii. 11, in declaiming against the danger to morality arising from the study of the poets, alludes to the above passage. See Leland, *Chr. Revel.* Pt. i. ch. 6.

[3] *in sermone*, "in his dialogue." Davies remarks that this is a mistranslation of Plato's expression λόγῳ, of constant recurrence in the *Republic*, (e. g. Lib. v. p. 465), which Augustin properly translates *ratione*, i. e. "theoretically," *de Civ. Dei*, ii. 14.

[4] *Hic enim præcipuus etc.* The whole of this section is evidently borrowed from Cicero and Tertullian; for the former, see *de N. D.* i. 30; *de Div.* ii. 10: *Tusc.* i. 26: for the latter, *Apol.* c. xiv: Sed conversus ad literas vestras, quibus informamini ad prudentiam et liberalia officia, quanta invenio ludibria! Deos inter se propter Trojanos et Achivos, ut gladiatorum paria, congressos depugnasse: Venerem humana sagitta sauciatam: Martem tredecim mensibus in vinculis pene consumptum: Jovem, ne eandem vim a ceteris cœlitibus experiretur, opera cujusdam monstri liberatum; et nunc flentem Sarpedonis casum, nunc fœde subantem in sororem sub commemoratione non ita dilectarum jampridem amicarum.

C. XXII. enim præcipuus bello Troico deos vestros, etsi ludos facit, tamen in hominum rebus et actibus miscuit: hic eorum [5]paria composuit, [6]sauciavit Venerem, [7]Martem vinxit, vulneravit, fugavit. [8]Jovem 4
narrat a Briareo liberatum, ne a diis ceteris ligaretur: et Sarpedonem filium, quoniam morti non poterat eripere, cruentis imbribus flevisse: et loro Veneris illectum, flagrantius, quam in adulteras soleat, cum Junone uxore concumbere.

[9]Alibi Hercules stercora egerit, et Apollo [10]Ad- 5
meto pecus pascit: [11]Laomedonti vero muros Neptunus instituit, nec mercedem operis infelix structor

bello Troico, i. e. "in his poem on the Trojan war." Comp. Cicero *Ep. ad Trebat.* Lib. vii. 16. In Equo Trojano scis esse in extremo, i. e. "in the play so entitled."

Ludos facere hic non est risui exponere, sed de fictione poetica usurpatur. Valent enim hæc ad Homerum quodammodo excusandum. LINDNER.

[5] *paria composuit*, "has represented them paired like so many gladiators." So Horace, *Sat.* i. 10, 36:

Turgidus Alpinus jugulat dum Memnona,

i. e. jugulatum fingit. Comp. Broukhusius on Propertius, p. 29. For the allusion, see *Iliad.* v. 66, sqq.

[6] *sauciavit Venerem. Il.* v. 330. The same instances occur together in Athenag. *legat.* c. xvii. p. 21; Athanasius *or. c. Gr.* § 12; Justin M. *Cohort.* § 3; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* c. ii. § 36, p. 31 *ed. Potter*, to prove the gods are *ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς*.

[7] *Martem vinxit*: sc. by Oetus and Ephialtes, *Il.* v. 385, sqq. *Vulneravit*, sc. by Diomed, *ib.* v. 855, sqq.

[8] *Jovem liberatum. Il.* i. 399, sqq. *Sarpedonem.* xvi. 459, seqq.

loro Veneris illectum: *ibid.* xiv. 312: comp. Clem. Alex. *l. c.* § 33, p. 28: *ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐπιδείξῃς μόνον, ἄνθρωπε, (ὦ Ὅμηρε) τὸν κεστὸν (Il. ξ. 214), ἐξελέγχεται καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ἡ κόμη καταισχύνεται.*

[9] *alibi.* Apud Ovidium *Metam.* ix. 187; ii. 680; xi. 203. Nam apud Homerum nihil tale legitur. LINDNER. Of course the allusion is to the cleansing of the stables of Augias.

[10] *Admeto pecus pascit. Il.* ii. 765; Callimach. *Hymn. in Apoll.* 49: Eurip. *Alcest. prolog.* quoted by Athenag. *legat.* cap. xvii. p. 22. Comp. Tatian. *or. ad Gr.* § 21; Lactant. i. 10. 3; Tertullian, quoted below; Augustin, *de C. D.* iii. 2.

[11] *Laomedonti vero etc. Il.* xxi. v. 443; Eurip. *Troad. prolog.* Comp. Tertullian, *Apol.* xiv: Hic Apollinem Admeto regi pascendis pecoribus addicit, ille Neptuni structorias operas Laomedonti locat. Comp. Arnob. *adv. Nat.* iv. 25.

[12] *illic*: alio loco, apud alium

accipit: [12]illic Jovis fulmen cum Æneæ armis in incude fabricatur: quum cœlum et fulmina et fulgura longe ante fuerint, quam Jupiter in Creta nasceretur: et flammas veri fulminis nec Cyclops potuerit imitari, nec ipse Jupiter non vereri. C. XXII.

6 Quid loquar [13]Martis et Veneris adulterium deprehensum? et in [14]Ganymedem Jovis stuprum cœlo consecratum? quæ omnia in hoc prodita, [15]ut 7 vitiis hominum quædam auctoritas pararetur. His atque hujusmodi figmentis et mendaciis dulcioribus corrumpuntur ingenia puerorum: et [16]iisdem fabulis inhærentibus ad usque summæ ætatis robur ado-

as countenancing the vilest and most criminal actions, and therefore pernicious to morality by reason of its authority with the people.

poetam. Innuit autem locum Virgilii *Æneid.* viii. 424, seq. LINDNER. *Fabricatur*, passively as below, cap. xxiii. § 10.

[13] *Martis adulterium deprehensum.* Hom. *Odyss.* viii. 267; Ovid. *A. A.* ii. *sub fin.*; *Metam.* iv. 171; Comp.Clem.Alex.*Admonit. ad Gent.* § 33, p. 29 *Potter*; Prudent. *Peristeph. Hymn.* 10. 85; Arnobius, *l. d.*

[14] *Ganymedem.* Hom. *Il.* xx. 231: *Hymn. in Vener.*; Theocritus *Idyll.* xii. v. 35, sqq.; Apollon. *Argon.* iii. 114, sqq.; Ovid. *Metam.* Lib. x. fab. 4; Clem. Alex. p. 28.

[15] *ut vitiis hominum*, "that some sanction might be had for the vices of mankind." sc. inquiat aliquis verbis Ovidii *Amor.* ii. 8. 14.

Quod decuit divos, cur mihi turpe putem?

Rigaltius reads *judiciis*, upon which Gronovius remarks: [Recte id et de MS. et de sensu notat Rigaltius: nam de *vitiis* loquuntur sequentia. Sed Homerus sic voluit pervertere *judicia* hominum: id quo efficacius fieret, sub nominibus cælicolarum finxit talia admissa, quæ vere mala et illicita accipiunt licentiam ab exemplo. Male Davis.] The note of Davies alluded to is as follows: "Certe "boni malique discrimen ex animis "humanis ita non evellebatur, ut "pleraque pars gentilium *judiciis* "suis confirmaret, adulterium cete-"raque flagitia licita fuisse prorsus "et honesta; quamvis nonnulli phi-"losophi nefaria docuerint, ut os-"tendit H. Grotius in *Epist. ad* "*Rom.* cap. i. 32." Davies refers in the same note to the testimony of the heathen against the mischief caused by the stories of mythology; as Plato, *de Rep.* ii. p. 378; Seneca, *de brevit. vitæ*, cap. xvi; Quid aliud est vitia incendere quam auctores illis inscribere deos et dare morbo, exemplo divinitatis, excusatam licentiam: Philostr. *vit. Apoll. Tyan.* v. 14; and also to that of the Christian writers, Firmicus *de Err. Prof. Rel.* p. 30; Justin M. *Apol.* i. c. 29; Tatian *or. ad Gr.* p. 12; Athenag. *legat.* c. 29; Aug. *C. D.* ii. 7. 10. 25.

[16] *iisdem fabulis inhærentibus etc.*, "with the same stories rivetted

C. XXII. lescunt: et in iisdem opinionibus miseri consenescunt: quum sit veritas obvia, sed requirentibus. [17]Saturnum enim principem hujus generis et exami- 8
nis omnes scriptores vetustatis, Græci Romanique, hominem prodiderunt. [18]Scit hoc Nepos et Cassius in historia et Thallus ac Diodorus hoc loquuntur. Is itaque Saturnus Creta profugus Italiam metu 9
filii sævientis accessit, et Jani susceptus hospitio rudes illos homines et agrestes multa docuit, ut [19]Græculus et politus, litteras imprimere, nummos

It is easy to see that the principal of your divinities are but men, for they were either lineally descended from *Saturn*, who, according to testimony of your own writers, was himself a mortal;

in their minds they reach the prime of manhood, and the same delusions attend them, poor men, in their old age: whereas the truth of the matter is clear enough in itself, though only for those who inquire into it." *Miseri:* see ch. xii. note 3.

[17] *Saturnum enim principem etc.* The whole of this section should be compared with Tertullian, *Apol.* cap. 10: "ante Saturnum deus "penes vos nemo est; ab illo census "totius vel potioris et notioris di- "vinitatis. Itaque quod de origine "constiterit, id et de posteritate con- "veniet. Saturnum itaque, si quan- "tum licere docent, neque Diodorus "Græcus aut Thallus neque Cas- "sius Severus aut Cornelius Nepos "aliud quam hominem promulga- "verunt. Etiam Jovem ostendemus "tam hominem quam ex homine, et "deinceps totum generis examen "tam mortale quam seminis sui "par." See Leland, *l. l.* Pt i. ch. 4.

Examen i. e. "swarm" is a word of contempt, Horace, I. *Ep.* xix. 23.

[18] *scit hoc*, "is aware of this," "attests this." See Heraldus on Tertullian *Apol.* cap. v.

Cornelius Nepos, besides his work *de vitis illustribus*, published also another entitled *Chronica*, which is not extant, (Aulus Gell. *N. A.* xv. 28; xvii. 21); as neither are the *Annales* of Cassius Hemina, a writer of Italian history from the earliest times to his own, A. U. C. 608, (Plin. *N. H.* xiii. 17, 32: Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 16).

Thallus was a writer of Syrian history, Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* x. 3.

Diodorus, i. e. Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* Lib. iii. cap. 61. The testimony of the same four authors is appealed to by Lactantius, *de fals. rel.* I. xiii. 8, and Tertullian, *l. d.* See also, Justin M. *Cohort.* p. 7; Theophil. *ad Autolyc.* iii. § 29, p. 211, *ed. Humphry.*

[19] *Græculus*, a "Greekling," contemptuously. Comp. Juvenal, *Satir.* iii. 78; vi. 186. *Rudes illos homines*, Virgil. *Æn.* viii. 321, sqq.

Literas imprimere, h. e. scribere: Tertullian. *Apol.* cap. x: Ab ipso (*Saturno*) primum tabulæ, et imagine signatus nummus, et inde ærario præsidet: Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 7: Isidor. *Origg.* xvi. 18.

Instrumenta conficere sc. rustica. Cyprian. *de I. V.* i. 3.

[20] *vocari maluit Latium: Æn. l. c.*

10 signare, instrumenta conficere. Itaque latebram suam, quod tuto latuisset, [20]vocari maluit Latium: et urbem [21]Saturniam dedit de suo nomine, et Janiculum Janus; ad memoriam uterque posteritatis
11 reliquerunt. Homo igitur utique qui fugit; homo utique qui latuit; et pater hominis et natus ex homine: [22]terræ enim et cœli filius, quod apud Italos esset ignotis parentibus, proditus: ut in hodiernum [23]inopinato visos, cœlo missos; ignobiles et
12 ignotos, terræ filios nominamus. Ejus filius Jupiter C. XXII.

Latiumque vocari
Maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.

Cf. Arnob. *adv. nat.* iv. 24; Lactant. *D. I.* i. xiv. § 12.

[21] *Saturniam.* [antea vocatam Argessam; Schol. Lycophr. *Alexandr.* p. 183. J. GR.] In monte Saturnio, qui postea Tarpeius, tandem a Capitolio quod impositum est Capitolinus dictus fuit. Varro, *L. L.* Lib. iv. cap. 7: "antiquum oppidum in hoc (*monte*) fuisse Saturniam scribitur. Ejus vestigia etiamnunc manent tria. Virgilius, Lib. vii. v. 375:

Hanc Janus pater; hanc Saturnus condidit urbem; [men."
Janiculum huic; illi fuerat Saturnia no-

CELLARIUS.

Most editors omit *dedit*, which is in the MS., wrongly according to J. GR. in a MS note: "videtur enim Minucius," he says, "reliquisse commode: *et urbem Saturniam dedit de suo nomine et Janiculum Janus:* ac *memoriam uterque* posteritati reliquerunt."

[22] *terræ enim et cœli filius etc.*, "for, if he was reported to be the son of the earth and the heaven, it was only because his original was unknown among the Italians." Lactantius (*Div. I.* i. xi. 55) objects to this argument of our author, and suggests that he should have argued, that Saturn, to immortalize the memory of his parents, called the *earth* and *heaven*, which before had different names, terra and cœlum respectively after them. Comp. Athenag. *legat.* p. 34; Liv. *Hist.* i. 58.

[23] *inopinato visos, cœlo missos.* Tibulli distichon Lib. i. *Eleg.* iii. vs. 89, cum hoc componit Muretus, *Var. Lect.* xiii. cap. vii:

Tunc veniam subito nec quisquam nuntiet ante,
Sed videar cœlo missus adesse tibi.

Ignobiles et ignotos, terræ filios. Vide Ciceron. Lib. vii. *Epist.* 9 *ad Trebatium.* CELLARIUS.

Comp. Tertullian *Apol.* c. x: Lactant. *D. I.* i. xi; Juvenal, *Sat.* iv. 98: fraterculus gigantis; Perseus, *Sat.* vi. 57: progenies terræ: Cic. *ad Attic.* i. 13: Quinctilian, *Inst.* iii. 8.

In hodiernum sc. diem, "to this day."

Antrum Jovis visitur: in quo natus et educatus erat Jupiter. Apollodor. *Biblioth.* Lib. i. cap. 1. § 3: Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 152:

Dictæo cœli regem pavere sub antro.

Vid. Pausanias, viii. 36. DAVIES.

C. XXII. Cretæ excluso parente regnavit, illic obiit, illic filios habuit; adhuc antrum Jovis visitur et [24]sepulcrum ejus ostenditur et ipsis sacris suis humanitatis arguitur.

C. XXIII. [1]Otiosum est ire per singulos, et totam seriem generis istius explicare, quum in primis parentibus probata mortalitas in ceteros ipso ordine successionis influxerit. Nisi forte post mortem deos fin- 2
gitis et [2]pejerante Proculo deus Romulus et [3]Juba Mauris volentibus deus est et divi ceteri reges, qui consecrantur non [4]ad fidem numinis sed ad honorem emeritæ potestatis. [5]Invitis denique hoc 3

or else were once your fellow-men, *deified* by you after their *death*, out of gratitude for past services, indeed sometimes even against their own consent.

[24] *sepulcrum ostenditur:* Lucian speaks of this, *de Sacrif.* i. 10, 534: Callimachus *Hymn. in Jovem* vs. 8, (quoted by Origen *c. Cels.* iii. p. 137) denies the story in these lines:

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες· ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί.

Comp. Lactant. *D. I.* i. xi. 46.

Ch. XXIII. [1] *Otiosum est.* Formula transitionis. Tertull. *Apolog.* c. 10: Otiosum est etiam titulos persequi quod de origine constiterit, etiam de posteritate conveniet. Lactant. ii. 4. 28; Tacitus, *Annal.* xiii. 3. Lindner. Comp. above ch. xviii. 1: longum est ire per singula. Translate: "'Twere an idle "thing to go through them one by "one, and unfold the whole pedigree "of your race of deities: since the "same mortal nature, which has "been proved in the case of their "first parents, must have descended "to the rest by the very course of "succession." *Mortalitas* is used as *humanitas* in Ch. xxii. § 12.

[2] *pejerante Proculo.* Liv. Lib. i. cap. xvi; Plutarch. *vit. Rom.* p. 35. Comp. Justin M. *Apolog.* ii. p. 52. Reeves refers to Herodian's description of the Apotheosis of Septimius Severus, Lib. iv.

[3] *Juba, Mauris volentibus, deus est.* Tertullian *Apolog.* xxiv; Lactant. i. 15. 8. Arnob. *adv. gent.* i. 36. Cellarius supposes that Minucius has fallen into an error, because Juba was king of the Numidæ; but Tacitus *Annal.* iv. 5 tells us, "Jubam *Mauros* ex dono P. R. accepisse:" and Strabo, *Geogr.* vi. says that in his time: εἰς Ἰούβαν περίεστηκεν Μαυρουσία καὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς ἄλλης Λιβύης διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐνοίαν τε καὶ φιλίαν.

[4] *ad fidem numinis etc.* "not so much to make men believe in their godship, as by way of respect for their past services as kings."

[5] *invitis.* [Tertullian *Apol.* 33: quia nec ipse se deum volet dici, si homo sit. J. Gr.] *Denique,* "to say no more": Hand, *Tursell.* ii. p. 275.

[6] *optant in homine perseverare,*

nomen adscribitur: [6]optant in homine perseverare: [7]fieri se deos metuunt; etsi jam senes, nolunt. C. XXIII.

4 Ergo nec de mortuis dii sunt, quoniam Deus mori non posse: nec de natis, quoniam moritur omne, quod nascitur: divinum autem id est, quod 5 nec ortum habet, nec occasum. [8]Cur enim, si nati sunt, non hodieque nascuntur? nisi forte jam Jupiter senuit, et partus in Junone defecit: et Minerva canuit, antequam peperit. An ideo cessavit ista generatio, quoniam nulla hujusmodi fabulis 6 præbetur adsensio? [9]Ceterum si dii creare possint, interire non possent: plures totis homini-

But the true Divinity has neither *beginning* nor *end*. Absurd consequences of supposing a continual *generation* of gods.

"they wish rather to continue in their mortal nature." Compare the expression 'exuere hominem', i. e. humanam naturam, ch. xxi. 15. Arnobius frequently uses homo in the sense of *corpus* as opposed to *animus*: thus, I. 65: atque ipsius mortis exstinctor hominem suum permiserit interfici: II. 57: alterius vero sententia est nihil eas continuo perpeti sed post hominem positum...succedere. So also, I. 55, 62; ii. 28, 39. Comp. Lactantius, *D. I.* iv. 10. 1. with Bünemann's note; Cyprian, *de I. V.* vii. 6.

[7] *fieri se deos metuunt.* Hinc Vespasiani jocus, qui *prima morbi accessione, ut,* inquit, *puto, deus fio.* Sueton. in *Vesp.* [cap. xxiii.] Vide quæ notabamus ad Tertull. *Apol.* c. xxxiv. in hæc verba: Maledictum est ante apotheosin deum Cæsarem nuncupare. HERALDUS.

[8] *cur enim....non hodieque nascuntur.* Prius Theophilus Antiochenus Ethnicos eodem argumento confutaverat: *εἰ γὰρ τότε ἐγεννῶν καὶ ἐγεννῶντο, δῆλον ὅτι ἐχρῆν καὶ ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο γίνεσθαι θεοὺς γενητοὺς· εἰ δὲ μή γε, ἀσθενὲς τὸ τοιοῦτο νοηθήσεται. ἢ γὰρ ἐγήρασαν, διὸ οὐκ ἔτι γεννῶσιν· ἢ ἀπέθανον καὶ οὐκ ἔτι εἰσίν*: [*ad Autol.* ii. 3]. Brevius quidem Tatianus sed non minus festive: "Si deorum generationem," inquit, "memoratis, etiam mortales eos declaratis: *διὰτί γὰρ οὐ κύει νῦν ἡ Ἥρα; πότερον γεγήρακεν, ἢ τοῦ μηνύσαντος ὑμῖν ἀπορεῖται*"; *orat. c. Gr.* [cap. xxi.] LE NOURRY.

Comp. also Athenag. *legat.* c. 18; Lactant. *D. I.* I. xvi. 9; Lucan, *Bell. Phars.* viii. 458:

si numina nasci
Credimus aut quenquam fas est cœpisse deorum.

[9] *ceterum si dii etc.;* "besides, if the gods had the power of begetting children, and not the power of dying, we should have a greater population of gods than there is of the whole of mankind: so that by this time the heavens could not contain them." Others understand *liberi,* implied from *creare,* before *non possent interire.* Comp. Theoph.

c. XXIII. bus deos haberemus, ut jam eos nec cœlum contineret, nec aër caperet, nec terra gestaret. Unde manifestum est homines illos fuisse, quos et natos legimus et mortuos scimus.

So that the object of vulgar adoration is clearly not the gods themselves, but their *images*, the workmanship of which interests the imagination and gratifies the sense of the ignorant, though they would blush to think what indignities are heaped upon them in the process of making.

[10]Quis ergo dubitat horum imagines consecra- 7
tas vulgus orare, et publice colere: dum opinio et mens imperitorum artis concinnitate decipitur, auri fulgore præstringitur, argenti nitore et candore eboris hebetatur? Quod si in animum quis inducat, 8
[11]tormentis quibus, et quibus machinis simulacrum omne formetur, erubescet timere se materiem ab artifice, ut deum faceret, illusam. Deus enim lig- 9
neus, rogi fortasse vel [12]infelicis stipitis portio,

ad Autol. l. c. καὶ πλείονες θεοὶ ὤφειλον εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥς φησι Σίβυλλα: Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* iii. 9; Lactant. *l. c.*; Plin. *N. H.* ii. 7.

[10] *quis ergo dubitat etc.*: "Who therefore questions but that the worship and public homage paid by the vulgar is paid to the consecrated images of these divinities: as the fancy and judgment of simple people is taken in with the finery of the workmanship, dazzled with the glitter of gold, or dulled with the lustre of silver and the pure whiteness of ivory?"

[11] *tormentis quibus.* Lege *tornis quibus.* Nam vox *tormentum* notat 1° machinam bellicam: 2° supplicium et cruciatum: 3° funem tensum. LINDNER. Hildebr. ad *Apulej.* Vol. ii. p. 449, suggests tornamentis, i. q. tornis. For the argument, see Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xii; Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* c. 47, 56, sqq. p. 41, *Potter*: Justin M. *Apol.* i. 9; Hieronymus Lib. xii. in *Esaiam* cap. 44: *Psalm.* cxv. 4—8.

[12] *infelicis stipitis portio*, i. e. crucis, "a piece of an ill-omened stake": Liv. i. 26: infelici arbore reste suspendito. LINDNER. Comp. Tibullus I. *eleg.* x. 17 sqq.; Propert. iv. 2; Horat. I. *Sat.* viii. 1.

Cæditur, dolatur, runcinatur, "is hewn, chipped and planed." The last word occurs in Plautus: in Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xii; Arnobius *adv. nat.* vi. c. 14.

[13] *de immundo vasculo conflatur*, matella, quas Romani habebant aureas et argenteas; Burmannus ad Petron. c. 27, p. 96. LINDNER. Idem Romanus martyr apud Prudentium pagano judici objecit v. 298:

Quæ dis ineptus obtulisti talibus
Quos trulla, pelvis, cantharus, sartagines,
Fracta et liquata contulerunt vascula.
CELLARIUS.

Translate: "is molten out of the substance of an unclean vessel." For *conflare* comp. Juv. xiii. 153:

solitus totum conflare Tonantem:

And for the argument, Arnobius, *adv. nat.* vi. c. 14.

[14] *ut factum Ægyptio regi*, "as

suspenditur, cæditur, dolatur, runcinatur: et deus aureus vel argenteus [13]de immundo vasculo sæpius, [14]ut factum Ægyptio regi, conflatur, tunditur malleis et incudibus figuratur: et lapideus cæditur, scalpitur et [15]ab impurato homine lævigatur: nec sentit [16]suæ nativitatis injuriam, ita ut nec postea de vestra veneratione culturam. Nisi forte nondum deus saxum est, vel lignum, vel argentum. Quando igitur hic nascitur? ecce [17]funditur, fabricatur, scalpitur; nondum deus est: ecce plumbatur, construitur, erigitur; [18]nec adhuc deus est: ecce ornatur, [19]consecratur, oratur; tunc postremo deus est, quum homo [20]illum voluit et dedicavit. C. XXIII.

was done by the king of Egypt," sc. Amasis. The story is told in Herodot. ii. 172. See also Humphry on Theophilus *ad Autolyc.* p. 24.

[15] *ab impurato homine*, "by some lewd fellow." "Horum vanitatem etiam Justinus Martyr *Apolog.* ii. p. 57, ab artificum impietate probat, ὅτι οἱ τούτων τεχνῖται ἀσελγεῖς τε καὶ πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν ἔχουσι." CELLARIUS. Quod et Celsus ipse fatebatur apud Origenem I. § 20: τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας, inquit Origenes, ὡς ἴδια τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐκτιθέμενος καὶ ὑποκατασκευάζει λέγων αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ νομίζειν χειροποιητοὺς θεούς, ἐπεὶ μὴ εὔλογον ἐστι τὰ ὑπὸ φαυλοτάτων δημιουργῶν καὶ μοχθηρῶν τὸ ἦθος εἰργασμένα εἶναι θεοὺς πολλάκις καὶ ὑπὸ ἀδίκων ἀνθρώπων κατασκευασθέντα. HERALDUS.

[16] *suæ nativitatis.* Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xii.: "sed plane non sentiunt has injurias et contumelias suæ fabricationis dii vestri, sicut nec obsequia." LINDNER. The meaning of the next sentence is: "But perhaps this stone or wood or silver, as the case may be, is not yet a god. What is the precise time then at which its divinity commences?"

[17] *funditur*, "it is cast:" *scalpitur*, "is chiselled:" *plumbatur*, "is soldered:" *construitur*, "is put together:" *erigitur*, "is set upright." Comp. Arnobius vi. 16.

[18] *nec adhuc*, i.q. necdum. See Hand, *Tursellin.* i. p. 166, who cites Virgil *Æn.* xi. 70:

Cui *neque* fulgor *adhuc* necdum sua forma recessit.

[19] *consecratur.* The form of consecration is described by Livy, Lib. ix. and Valerius Maximus, I. i.

[*Oratur:* ex Martiale viii. 24:

Qui fingit sacros auro vel marmore vultus,
Non facit ille deos; qui rogat, ille facit.
J. GR.]

[20] *illum voluit*, sc. deum esse. Tertullian cap. 5: "apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensitatur: nisi homini deus placuerit, deus non erit." LINDNER. Comp.

C. XXIV.

Even the *mute creation* have a more correct conception of your gods, as they shew by their contemptuous treatment of their senseless representations.

[1]Quanto verius de diis vestris animalia muta naturaliter judicant? mures, hirundines, milui: non sentire eos sciunt: norunt, inculcant, insident: ac nisi abigatis, in ipso dei vestri ore nidificant. Araneæ vero faciem ejus intexunt et de ipso capite 2 sua fila suspendunt: vos tergitis, mundatis, eraditis: et illos, quos facitis, [2]protegitis et timetis: dum unusquisque vestrum non cogitat, prius se 3 debere deum nosse, quam colere: dum inconsulte gestiunt parentibus obedire: dum fieri malunt

Horace, *Sat.* I. viii. 3: and for the meaning of *voluit* see Woodham's Tertullian Ch. xiii. note 2.

Ch. XXIV. [1] *Quanto vero judicant* is the MS. reading. For the allusion comp. Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* vi. 16: ita non videtis sub istorum simulacrorum cassis stelliones sorices blattasque lucifugas nidamenta ponere atque habitare, spurcitias huc omnes atque alia usibus accommodata conducere? non in ore aliquando simulacri ab araneis ordiri retia? non hirundines denique intra ipsos ædium circumvolantes tholos jacularier stercoris splenas, et modo ipsos vultus, modo numinum ora depingere, barbam, oculos, nasos, aliasque omnes partes, in quascunque se detulerit deonerati proluvies podicis? See also Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. xii. with Woodham's note; Clemens Alex. *Cohort.* p. 46; Lactant. *Instit.* v. 12. § 12; Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 36, p. 136, *ed. Humphry.*

naturaliter, i. e. leges suas sequentia et instincta veritate naturæ, as it is expressed by Arnobius, *l. c.*

Norunt, "they have a correct conception of." *Inculcant* i. q. calcant, conculcant. [Hæc impediebant μηνισκοί, Suidas. J. GR.]

[2] *protegitis et timetis*, h. e. *protegitis et* tamen *timetis*. So below, ch. xxvi. 2: Regulus auguria servavit *et* captus est: xxxv. 2, vos adulteria prohibetis *et* facitis. See Hand, *Tursell.* ii. p. 495: Bünemann ad Lactant. *D. I.* iii. 11. 8.

[3] *avaritia consecrata est.* Davies compares an apposite passage from Lactantius, *D. I.* II. 6. §§ 2, 3: tanta homines imaginum cupiditas tenet, ut jam viliora ducantur illa quæ vera sunt: auro scilicet, gemmis et ebore delectantur. Horum pulcritudo ac nitor præstringit oculos, nec ullam religionem putant, ubicunque illa non fulserint. Itaque sub obtentu deorum avaritia et cupiditas colitur.

[4] *quorum ritus*, as if *Romanorum superstitio* and not *Romana* had preceded. Comp. ch. xxv. 2. For the argument, see Leland, *Necessity of Chr. Rev.* Part I. ch. vii.

[5] *nudi discurrunt*: The priests of Pan at the Lupercalia, festus ille impurorum sacrorum dies, xv. kal. Mart., as it is called by Cicero *Philip.* ii. 34. Comp. Virgil, *Æn.*

alieni erroris accessio, quam sibi credere: dum nihil ex his, quæ timent, norunt: sic in auro et argento [3]avaritia consecrata est: sic statuarum inanium consignata forma: sic nata Romana superstitio. [4]Quorum ritus si percenseas, ridenda quam multa, multa etiam miseranda sunt. [5]Nudi cruda hieme discurrunt: [6]alii incedunt pileati, scuta vetera circumferunt, [7]pelles cædunt, [8]mendicantes vicatim deos ducunt. [9]Quædam fana semel anno adire permittunt, [10]quædam in totum nefas visere, [11]est

C. XXIV.

The religious *rites* and *services* of the Romans, cruel and licentious, or ridiculous.

viii. 507; Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 257; Lactantius, *D. I.* i. xxi. 45; Plutarch, *vit. Anton.* p. 921.

[6] *alii incedunt pileati.* The Salii, priests of Mars, who every March carried about the ancilia, wearing their conical caps called apices. Plutarch, *Num.* pag. 68; Livy, i. 20; Dionys. Halicarn. ii. 129; Polyb. *legat.* xiii.

[7] *pelles cædunt;* "beat drums." Comp. Ovid *Fast.* iv. 211; Phædrus, Lib. iii. *fab.* 20, 7: de Gallis Cybeles sacerdotibus: Detracta pelle (*asini*) sibi fecerunt tympana. Catull. lxiii. 8; Suetonius, *Aug.* 68.

[8] *mendicantes deos,* chiefly Isis, and the Magna Mater, whence the term μητραγύρται was applied to her priests who went about begging with the image of their goddess in a shrine on the back of an ass. Comp. Ovid. *Pont.* i. 39, 40:

Ante deûm matrem cornu tibicen adunco
Cum canit, exiguæ quis stipis æra neget?

Hence Tertullian, *Apol.* 42: non sufficimus et hominibus et diis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre. Comp. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* p. 49; Apulej. *Metam.* viii. 24.

Vicatim. The MS. has *vicantes,* for which Davies suggests viantes; Gronovius, subantes.

[9] *quædam fana semel anno adire.* In Cereris et Proserpinæ fanum apud Arcades feminis τὸν πάντα ἐστὶν ἔσοδος χρόνον· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οὐ πλέον ἢ ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσιᾶσι: Pausanias, *Arcad.* cap. xxxi. Thebis etiam Dindymenæ, quæ Mater deorum est, sacrarium μιᾷ ἐφ' ἑκάστων ἑτῶν ἡμέρᾳ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοίγειν νομίζουσιν, Idem *Bœot.* cap. xxv. Cellarius.

[10] *quædam in totum nefas visere.* Tale erat Neptuni templum Mantineæ: ἔσοδος δὲ ἀνθρώποις οὔτε τότε ἐς αὐτὸ ἦν, οὔτε ἄχρι ἡμῶν ἐστιν. Pausanias. *Arcad.* cap. v. Cellarius. See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* i. 279, where all the passages bearing on this are collected.

[11] *est quo viro non licet,* sc. ire. Sacra Bonæ deæ, Cereris, et Vestæ. Lactantius, Lib. iii. cap. xx. sect. 4, ubi tres divas has conjungit. De Bona Dea separatim Cicero, *Arusp. resp.* cap. xvii. De Cerere Catanensi et Ennensi, ii. *Verr.* iv. cap. 45 et 49. Cellarius. The reader of Juvenal will not need to be refer-

C. XXIV. quo viro non licet, [12]nonnulla absque feminis sacra sunt: [13]etiam servo quibusdam cærimoniis interesse piaculare flagitium est. [14]Alia sacra coronat univira, alia multivira, et magna religione conquiritur, quæ [15]plura possit adulteria numerare. Quid? qui [16]sanguine suo libat et vulneribus suis 6
supplicat, [17]non profanus melius esset, quam sic religiosus? aut cui [18]exta sunt obscena demessa, [19]quomodo deum violat, qui hoc modo placat! quum, si eunuchos Deus vellet, posset procreare, non facere. Quis non intelligat male sanos et 7
[20]vanæ et perditæ mentis in ista desipere, et ipsam errantium turbam mutua sibi patrocinia præ-

red to *Satir.* vi. 338, sqq. for illustration of this statement.

[Feminæ in Bacchi templum. Schol. Lycophr. *Alexandr.* p. 185. J. GR.] Most editions have *est: quædam viro non licet:* Davies suggests the insertion of *ire.*

[12] *nonnulla absque feminis sacra.* Herculis scilicet. A. Gellius, Lib. xi. cap. 6: "mulieres Herculaneo sacrificio abstinent. Causam adfert Macrobius *Saturnal.* Lib. I. cap. xii. CELLARIUS.

Cf. Aurelius Victor *de Origin. Gent. Rom.* cap. vi; Silius Italic. *Punic.* Lib. iii; Propert. *Eleg. ad Hercul.* Lib. iv.

[13] *etiam servo quibusdam cæremoniis interesse etc.* [etiam, nihil mirum, quum nec ad communionem civitatis venire posset. Meurs. *Athen.* cap. 5 ex *Dion. Chryst.* J. GR.] Cæremoniis sacrorum Herculis, cujus rei neglectionem in Appio et Potitiis punitam tradunt Livius ix. c. 29 et Val. Maximus, Lib. I. cap. i. num. 17. CELLARIUS. Etiam ad Matutæ seu Leucotheæ sacra servis introitus non dabatur. Ovidius *Fast.* vi. 478: 551 seqq. DAVIES. Comp. Lactant. *D. I.* ii. 7. 15.

[*Piaculare flagitium.* An *piaculare* (Deo) *et flagitium* (hominibus). J. GR.]

[14] *alia sacra coronat univira.* Tertullianus *de Monogam.* cap. xvii.: Fortunæ muliebri coronam non imponit, nisi univira; sicut nec matri Matutæ. CELLARIUS. Junonis, Vestæ et Telluris sacerdotes omnes univiræ. Vid. Hieronym. *adv. Jovinian.* I. c. vi, c. xxx: Dionys. Halicarn. viii. fol. 526. ELMENHORST. Comp. Tertullian, *Exhort. Cast.* c. ii; Ruperti on Valer. Maxim. p. 104.

[15] *plura adulteria.* Hujus generis abominanda sacra fuerunt τὰ τῆς Ἀναΐτιδος apud Armenios. Vide Strabon. lib. xi *extremo* et Eustath. ad *Periegetæ* v. 846. CELLARIUS.

stare? Hic defensio communis furoris est furentium multitudo. C. XXIV.

C. XXV.

[1]At tamen ista ipsa superstitio Romanis dedit, auxit, fundavit imperium, quum non tam virtute, 2 quam religione et pietate pollerent. [2]Nimirum insignis et nobilis justitia Romana ab ipsis imperii nascentis incunabulis auspicata est. Nonne in ortu suo et scelere collecti, et muniti immanitatis suæ terrore creverunt? nam asylo prima plebs congregata est: confluxerant perditi, facinorosi, incesti, sicarii, proditores: et ut ipse Romulus, imperator et rector, populum suum facinore præcelleret, [3]parrici- 3 dium fecit. Hæc prima sunt auspicia religiosæ civi-

You ascribe the grandeur and prosperity of the Romans to their excessive *devotion*: whereas on the contrary their greatness proceeded from *irreligion*, and prosperous acts of sacrilege.

Comp. II Maccabees i. 13, 15; and see Bochart. *Phaleg.* cap. 19, Lib. iv. p. 277.

Adulteria need not imply more than "marriages." See below, note on ch. xxxi. § 5.

[16] *sanguine suo libant.* The votaries of Cybele and Bellona. See below, xxx. 5; Tertullian, *Apol.* ch. xxv.; Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* x. 17; Lactant. *Epitom.* c. 23, p. 1249. ed. *Bünemann;* Apulej. *Metam.* viii. 27; Lampridius, *Hist. August. Script.* p. 49.

[17] *non,* pro nonne.

[18] *exta obscena.* Semiviri Galli, Cybeles sacerdotis, descriptio. Supra cap. xxi. CELLARIUS.

[19] *quomodo,* "how greatly!"

[20] *vanæ mentis* sc. homines. Cf. supra cap. viii. note 10.

Defensio communis furoris. Augustine *de C. D.* vi. 10: Insanitatis patrocinium insanientium turba. WOWERUS. So Juvenal. *Sat.* ii. 46: Defendit numerus, junctæque umbone phalanges.

Ch. XXV. [1] *Attamen,* "but, you say." Compare with Cæcilius' argument (ch. vi. § 1) Valer. Max. *Exempl. memor.* I. § 8; Propertius, Lib. I. *Eleg. de Romulo:*

Urbis virtutisque parens sic crescere suevit,
Qui tulit aprico frigida castra Lare.

and with that of Octavius, Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxv.

[2] *nimirum,* ironical; as in Ch. xi. note 14.

Auspicata est, "began." So § 3, *auspicia* are "beginnings."

[3] *parricidium fecit,* "committed an unnatural murder." The word probably originally was applied to the murder of a parent, afterwards to any atrocious murder. See Long on Cicero, *Verr.* p. 574. Comp. also ch. xxx. 2, and xxxi. 10; and for the argument, Augustine *C. D.* iii. 6; Justin, *Hist.* xxviii. 2. 8.

C. XXV. tatis. Mox alienas virgines jam desponsatas, jam [4]destinatas, et nonnullas [5]de matrimonio mulierculas, [6]sine more rapuit, violavit, illusit: et cum earum parentibus, id est, cum soceris suis bellum miscuit, propinquum sanguinem fudit. Quid irreligiosius, quid audacius, quid ipsa sceleris confidentia tutius? Jam finitimos agro pellere; civitates proximas 4 evertere cum templis et altaribus; [7]captos cogere; damnis alienis et suis sceleribus adolescere, cum Romulo, regibus ceteris et postremis ducibus disciplina communis est. Ita quidquid Romani tenent, colunt, possident, audaciæ præda est. Templa omnia 5 [8]de manubiis, id est, de ruinis urbium, de spoliis deorum, de cædibus sacerdotum. Hoc insultare et illudere est, victis religionibus servire et captivas eas post victorias adorare. Nam adorare quæ manu

[4] *destinatas*: "assigned in marriage." Comp. Cicero, *de Harusp. Resp.* 3; cui me præripere desponsatam jam et destinatam gloriam valde est iniquum. See Hildebrand ad *Apulej.* Vol. I. p. 277.

[5] *de matrimonio mulierculas*, i. e. maritatas. On the peculiar use of *de* see Hand, *Tursellin.* ii. p. 203. Comp. also ch. vii. note 7.

Mulier is frequently opposed to *virgo*: see Bünemann on Lactant. *Div. Inst.* I. xvii. 8, p. 108.

[6] *sine more*, "without precedent": allusive to Virgil. *Æn.* viii. 635:

raptas sine more Sabinas.

Illusit, sensu obscœno, N. Heinsius *Advers.* ii. 9; Comp. Lactantius *D. I.* vi. 23. 10.

[7] *captos cogere*, "to drive captive."

Disciplina, "established policy." On the various meanings of this word consult Woodham, Tertullian *Apol.* p. 118. By *postremi duces* are meant the generals who lived towards the decline of the republic.

[8] *de manubiis*. *Manubiæ*, according to Asconius, are "præda imperatoris pro portione de hostibus capta." See Long on Cicero, *Verr.* p. 147, and comp. Tertullian. *l. c.*: Prudentius *c. Symmach.* Lib. II. § 2.

[9] *sacrilegium consecrare*. Comp. above, ch. xxiv. § 3. *avaritia consecrata est.*

[10] *impiatum est*, "sacrilege was committed by them."

[11] *quos postulaverant*, sc. ut contra se pugnaturi in arenam descenderent. OEHLER. Some have *quod postulaverant*: [nempe votis in Capitolio nuncupatis, si bellum recte cessisset. J. GR.]

ceperis, [9]sacrilegium est consecrare, non numina. C. XXV.
6 Toties ergo Romanis [10]impiatum est, quoties triumphatum: tot de diis spolia, quot de gentibus et tropæa. Igitur Romani non ideo tanti, quod religiosi; sed quod impune sacrilegi. Neque enim potuerunt in ipsis bellis deos adjutores habere, adversus quos arma rapuerunt, et [11]quos postulaverant, detriumphatos colere cœperunt. Quid autem isti dii pro Romanis possunt, qui nihil pro suis adversus eorum arma valuerunt? Romanorum enim vernaculos deos novimus: Romulus, [12]Picus, [13]Tiberinus et [14]Consus et [15]Pilumnus ac Picumnus. [16]Cloacinam Tatius et invenit et coluit: Pavorem Hostilius atque Pallorem: mox a nescio quo [17]Febris
9 dedicata. Hæc [18]alumna urbis istius superstitio, morbi et malæ valetudines. Sane et Acca Laren-

It certainly could not be due to the superior gods, because these became their tutelar gods by right of *conquest*, upon desertion of their proper worshippers. It must then have been due, if to any, to the inferior gods, the original objects of their own worship.

Detriumphatos. [Tertull. *Apol.* xxvii: illos nunquam magis detriumphamus. J. GR.]

[12] *Picus. Æn.* vii. v. 48:

Fauno Picus pater, ipse parentem
Te Saturne refert.

[13] *Tiberinus. Æneid.* viii. vs. 31: Dionys. Halic. *Antiqq. Rom.* Lib. 1.

[14] *Consus.* Tertullianus *de Spectaculis* cap. 5: Ludi, Consualia dicti, initio Neptunum honorabant: eundem enim et Consum vocant: Liv. i. c. 9; Varro, *de L. L.* p. 18; Dion. Halic. *Antiq.* 11. p. 100, *ed. Sylburg;* Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* iii. 23; Augustine *C. D.* iv. 11.

[15] *Pilumnus ac Picumnus,* ut ait Servius, fratres fuerunt et dii. Horum alter usum stercorandorum invenit agrorum, unde et Sterquilinius dictus est. Pilumnus vero pinsendi frumenti; unde a pistoribus colitur: ad *Æn.* ix. v. 4; Cf. *Æn.* v. 76.

[16] *Cloacinam.* Liv. i. 10; Lactant. *D. I.* Lib. i. c. xx. § 11; Tertullian, *contra Marcion.* i. 18; *de Pall.* c. 4.

Pavorem. Liv. i. 27: "Tullus in re trepida vovit templa Pallori ac Pavori."

[17] *Febris dedicata;* ad minus nocendum, ut Valerius Maximus dicit, Lib. ii. cap. v. Fanum ejus fuit in Palatio, Cicer. iii. *N. D.* cap. 25. CELLARIUS.

Comp. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* § 38, p. 33; Lactant. i. 20, 17; Cic. *de N. D.* iii. 25; Ælian *Var. Hist.* xii. 2.

[18] *alumna,* "homebred."

Acca Larentia was the nurse of Romulus, Liv. i. 4; Plutarch, *vit. Rom.* p. 19; Plin. *N. H.* xviii. 2; A. Gell. *N. A.* vi. 7; Tertullian.

C. XXV. tia et [19]Flora, meretrices propudiosæ, inter morbos Romanorum et deos computandæ. Isti [20]scilicet adversus ceteros, qui in gentibus colebantur, Romanorum imperium protulerunt. Neque enim eos 10 adversum suos homines vel Mars Thracius, vel Jupiter Creticus, vel [21]Juno nunc Argiva, nunc Samia, nunc Pœna: vel [22]Diana Taurica, vel mater Idæa, vel [23]Ægyptia illa, non numina, sed portenta, juverunt.

Nor yet was it due to the *sanctity* of their *priests*, who are notorious for having practised every species of lewdness in the very temples of their gods.

Nisi forte [24]apud istos major castitas virgi- 11 num, aut religio sanctior sacerdotum: [25]quum pæne in pluribus virginibus, ut quæ inconsultius se viris miscuissent, [26]Vesta sane nesciente, sit incestum vindicatum: in residuis impunitatem fecerit non castitas tutior, sed impudicitia felicior. [27]Ubi 12 autem magis a sacerdotibus, quam inter aras et

Apol. c. xiii; Augustine *de C. D.* xviii. 21. Vide Index *s. v.*

[19] *Flora:* Gell. *N. A.* ix. c. 20; Lactant. *D. I.* i. xx. 6; Augustine, *C. D.* iv. 8; Ovid, *Fast.* v. 195, sqq. Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. mentions the dedication of a temple to this goddess by Tiberius.

[20] *scilicet,* ironical, as in x. 5.

[21] *Juno nunc Argiva.* So called, because she was supposed to have been born at Argos, which Pindar calls "Ηρας δῶμα, *Nem.* x. 2. Hence a festival, "Ηραια, was kept here in her honour.

Nunc Samia, nunc Pœna. Æn. i. 12; Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* p. 40; Origen. *c. Cels.* iv. § 48. p. 196.

[22] *Diana Taurica.* See note on ch. xxx. § 6, and comp. ch. vi. § 2.

[23] *Ægyptia portenta.* This may be taken from Juv. *Satir.* xv. v. 1: Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens Ægyptus portenta colat?

[24] *apud istos:* "among your countrymen," sc. the Romans.

[25] *quum,* i. q. quum tamen: "whereas." Comp. below, § 13.

In pluribus virginibus etc. Respicere videtur Minucius ad id quod paulo ante conscriptum hunc dialogum contigit: Antoninus enim, Severi filius, τὰς τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερείας ζῶσας κατώρυττεν, ὡς μὴ φυλαττούσας τὴν παρθενίαν, ut refert Herodianus Lib. iv. cap. xi. At solum τέτταρας τῶν ἀεὶ παρθένων ἀπέκτεινεν, ὧν μίαν βίᾳ, ὅσα γε καὶ ἠδύνατο, ἠσχύνκει, si Dioni fides Lib. lxxvii. p. 877. Davies. Cf. Sueton. *Vit. Domitian.* viii. 8; Plin. *Epist.* iv. 11; Plutarch. *Quæst. Rom.* pag. 284.

delubra, conducuntur stupra, tractantur lenocinia, adulteria meditantur? frequentius denique in ædituorum cellulis, quam in ipsis lupanaribus, flagrans libido [28]defungitur. C. XXVI.

13 Et tamen ante eos, Deo dispensante, diu regna tenuerunt Assyrii, Medi, Persæ, Græci etiam, et Ægyptii, quum Pontifices et [29]Arvales et Salios et Vestales et Augures non haberent, nec [30]pullos cavea reclusos, quorum cibo vel fastidio res summa re- 1 geretur. Jam enim venio ad illa auspicia et auguria Romana, quæ summo labore collecta [1]testatus est et pœnitenter omissa, et observata feliciter. Clodius scilicet, et Flaminius, et Junius ideo exercitus perdiderunt, quod pullorum [2]solistimum tripudium exspectandum non putaverunt? Quid Regulus? 2 nonne auguria servavit, [3]et captus est? [4]Mancinus

The disposal of kingdoms was never in the hands of these fictitious deities, since other nations before the Romans had their share of dominion, long ere priestcraft and the trade of augurs was known. Futility of the *auguries* argued from the observance or neglect of them having in so many signal instances proved *immaterial*.

[26] *Vesta sane nesciente,* "without the knowledge, it must be confessed, of Vesta:" yet she ought to have known, had she really been a goddess.

Incestum; neuter substantive, as in ch. xxxi. § 3: see Bünemann on *Lactantius*, p. 110.

[27] *ubi autem magis etc.* The construction is: "ubi magis conducuntur stupra, quam a sacerdotibus, inter aras et delubra." This is no exaggeration; see the testimony of Suetonius, *Tiber.* c. 44; Ovid. *A. A.* i. and iii; Juven. *Sat.* vi. 488:

apud Isiacæ sacraria lenæ.

Sat. ix. 24:

quo non prostat femina templo?

Comp. Tertullian *Apol.* c. xv.

[28] *defungitur,* opere suo scil., "effects its purpose."

[29] *Arvales:* The Arvales fratres, twelve in number, were established by Romulus, as priests of Ceres and Bacchus: A. Gell. *N. A.* Lib. vi. cap. 7.

[30] *pullos etc.* "cooped-up chickens, by whose appetite or loathing of food the most momentous concerns of the state might be regulated."

Ch. XXVI. [1] *Testatus est:* sc. Cæcilius. See above ch. vii. §§ 5, 6.

[2] *solistimum tripudium:* augurii genus ex pastu avium, quod Cicero exposuit Lib. ii. *de Divinat.* c. xxxiv. Adde ejusdem Lib. vi. *Epist.* vi. § 13, et Liv. x. c. 40. CELLARIUS.

[3] *et captus est.* On the use of *et* for *et tamen,* comp. ch. xxiii. § 1.

Regulus, i. e. M. Atilius, whose history is known from Horace, *Od.* Lib. iii. 5; See also Valer. Max. i. i. 14; Augustine *de C. D.* i. 15.

[4] *Mancinus.* Hostilius, de-

C. XXVI. religionem tenuit, et sub jugum missus est et deditus. Pullos edaces habuit et [5]Paulus, apud Cannas tamen cum majore Romani populi parte prostratus est. [6]C. Cæsar ne ante brumam in Africam navigia 3
transmitteret auguriis et auspiciis renitentibus sprevit: eo facilius et navigavit et vicit.

Futility of the *oracles*, argued from the frequent failure of their predictions.

Quæ vero et quanta de oraculis prosequar? 4
post mortem [7]Amphiaraus ventura respondit, qui proditum iri se ob monile ab uxore nescivit. Tiresias cæcus futura videbat, qui præsentia non videbat. De Pyrrho [8]Ennius Apollinis Pythii re- 5
sponsa confinxit, quum jam Apollo versus facere

feated in a campaign against Numantia, and compelled to an infamous surrender. Flor. Lib. II. c. 18; Eutrop. iv. 8; Valer. Max. i. 67; Velleius Paterc. ii. 90. 5; Augustin. *de Civ. Dei*, iii. 21.

[5] *Paulus.* L. Æmilius, defeated by Hannibal. Cf. Cicer. *de Div.* ii. 33; Liv. *Hist.* xxii. 47.

Reipublicæ. Respublica sæpe viros denotat, ex quibus constat et componitur civitas. Vide J. F. Gronovium *ad Livii* xxvi. 35; xxviii. 25. DAVIES.

[6] *C. Cæsar.* Comp. Cic. *de Div.* ii. 24; Sueton. *Cæsar.* cc. 59, 77.

[7] *Amphiaraus.* See Horace, III. 16. 11; also Sophocl. *Electr.* v. 840:

οἶδα γὰρ ἄνακτ' Ἀμφιάρεων
χρυσοδέτοις ἕρκεσι
κρυφθέντ' ἀπάταισι.

[8] *Ennius.* Hæc habet ex Ciceronis *de Divin.* II. c. 56: "Herodotum cur veraciorem ducam Ennio? num minus ille potuit de Cræso, quam de Pyrrho fingere Ennius? quis enim est, qui credat Apollinis ex oraculo Pyrrho esse responsum:

Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.

Primum Latinè Apollo nunquam locutus est: deinde ista sors inaudita Græcis est: præterea Pyrrhi temporibus jam Apollo versus facere desierat *etc.*" Illum versum memorant Quintilianus vii. 9; Aurelius Victor *de Vir. Ill.* c. 35; Hieronymus ad *Esaiæ* cap. xlii. col. 315. DAVIES.

Ambiguum, "double-meaning."

[9] φιλιππίζειν, id est, quasi cum Philippo facere, as Cicero interprets it, *de Divin.* ii. 57.

[10] *possit videri industriam casus imitatus:* "chance may possibly seem like design." Comp. above ch. xiv. § 8. The expression is borrowed from Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 21.

[11] *spiritus insinceri*, "unclean spirits," subsequently called *impuri*. Clemens Alex. *Cohort.* § 56, p. 42, *ed. Potter*: βδελυρὰ ὄντως καὶ πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα.....περὶ τοὺς τάφους καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα καλινδούμενα. This account of the dæmons is imitated from Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. xxii. by Minucius, and from him

desisset: cujus tunc cautum illud et ambiguum defecit oraculum, quum et politiores homines et minus creduli esse cœperunt: et Demosthenes, quod sciret responsa simulata, [9]φιλιππίζειν Pythiam que-
6 rebatur. At nonnumquam tamen veritatem vel auspicia vel oracula tetigere. Quamquam inter multa mendacia videri [10]possit industriam casus imitatus; adgrediar tamen fontem ipsum erroris et pravitatis, unde omnis caligo ista manavit, et altius eruere et aperire manifestius.
7 [11]Spiritus sunt insinceri, vagi, a cœlesti vigore [12]terrenis labibus et cupiditatibus degravati. Isti

C. XXVI.

It is now time to tell you who are the *authors* and *patrons* of these oracles, and of idolatry in general. They are certain evil and vagabond spirits whose existence under the name of *dæmons*, is acknowledged

by Lactantius II. 14 sqq. See the remarks of Bp. Kaye, *Eccles. Hist.* p. 215, and comp. Origen *c. Cels.* Lib. iii. p. 132: οὗτος δὲ (sc. ὁ Ἰησοῦς) ἀπαγορεύει τὰς τούτων ἀποδοχὰς, ὡς μοχθηρῶν δαιμόνων, καὶ τόπους ἐπὶ γῆς προκατειληφότων, ἐπεὶ τῆς καθαρωτέρας οὐ δύνανται ἐφάψασθαι χώρας καὶ θειοτέρας, ἔνθα μὴ φθάνουσιν αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μυρίων κακῶν παχύτητες: Tatian *Orat. ad Gr.* cap. 16, p. 155; Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* v. 8; Augustin. *C. D.* ii. 23 sqq.; Prudentius, *hymn. in S. Vincent.* stroph. 20 and 21.

Vagi etc. Philosophi Christiani docuerunt, Deum quum mundum creasset, sibi quidem servasse curam supremam et universalem rerum omnium, angelis autem demandasse hominum atque eorum, quæ sub cœlo sunt, procurationem, ut loquitur Justinus *Apol.* ii. c. 6: sive particularem rerum singularium providentiam, ut loquitur Athenagoras *legat. pro Christ.* c. xxii. Quum autem pars angelorum deficeret a Deo dejectos esse eos a mandata sibi provincia et vagos ita effectos; quippe quorum curæ nulla rerum creatarum permitti ulterius a Deo potuerit, sed qui ipsę jam *ἐρεί* res ceterorum angelorum fidei creditas invadere, quascunque possent, et perdere conarentur. GRUNERUS.

[12] *terrenis labibus.* Lactantius, II. 14. 1: terræ contagione maculati substantiæ cœlestis dignitatem amitterent. The primary meaning of *labes* is, "a sinking," "falling:" thus it is applied to a "land-slip," in Cicero, *de Divin.* 1. 43, § 97, labes agri Privernatis. Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* ii. v. 1146, mœnia mundi Expugnata dabunt labem: Arnobius *adv. Nat.* v. 40 speaks of labem imbris e cœlo. See note on ch. 17, § 7. Hence it comes to signify any "degrading fault;" particularly "criminal intercourse," as in Seneca *Hippolyt.* v. 667; Ovid. *Heroid.* iv. 32 (ubi cf. *Ruhnken.*) and *Amor.* III. 5. 43; Propert. I. 11. 15.

C. XXVI. igitur spiritus, posteaquam [13]simplicitatem substantiæ suæ onusti et immersi vitiis perdiderunt, [14]ad solatium calamitatis suæ non desinunt perditi jam perdere, et depravati errorem pravitatis infundere, et alienati a Deo, inductis pravis religionibus a Deo segregare. Eos spiritus dæmonas esse [15]poetæ 8 sciunt, philosophi disserunt, Socrates novit, qui ad nutum et arbitrium [16]adsidentis sibi dæmonis vel declinabat negotia, vel [17]petebat. [18]Magi quoque 9

by your own poets and philosophers: their main endeavour is to draw men off from allegiance to the one true and supreme God, and make as many as they can partakers in the guilt of their own revolt from Him.

[13] *simplicitatem substantiæ suæ.* Putabant veteres, dæmonas tenuioribus primum et æthereis, post lapsum vero crassioribus corporibus illigatos fuisse: quam opinionem foverunt Origenes et Augustinus. Vide P. D. Huetii *Origeniana*, Lib. ii. Quæst. v. §. 8. DAVIES. Athenag. *legat. pro Chr.* p. 30: ψυχὴ τοῦ ὑλικοῦ προσλαβοῦσα καὶ ἐπισυγκραθεῖσα πνεύματος .....κάτω πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια βλέπουσα, ὡς μόνον αἷμα καὶ σάρξ, οὐκέτι πνεῦμα καθαρὸν γιγνομένη. Arnobius *adv. Nat.* i. 23 says of them, that they "non nosse cœlestia et in hac rerum materia crassiore conditionis suæ sorte versari."

[14] *ad solatium calamitatis suæ.* Lactant. *D. I.* ii. xiv. 11: contaminati ac perditi per omnem terram vagantur: et solatium perditionis suæ perdendis hominibus operantur: *ib.* c. xvi. 9, 10, 20: suis vitiis perditi sæviunt et grassantur, ut perdant: cap. xvii. 10; Tertullian. *Apol.* xxii: operatio eorum est hominum eversio: Tatian. *Or. ad Gr.* p. 29 c: τέχνη τῆς θεοσεβείας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παρατρέπουσιν.

[15] *poetæ sciunt,* "the poets attest their existence." Comp. above ch. xxii. 8. Lactant. *l. c.* § 7: eos poetæ et sciunt esse dæmonas et loquuntur: Hesiodus ita tradit (*Opp.* v. 122):

οἱ μὲν δαίμονές εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς
ἐσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

[16] *adsidentis dæmonis.* [παρέδρευοντος. Cuper. 4 *Obs.* p. 49: ergo non insiti, non innati, sed extra appellantis. J. GR.]

Comp. Tertull. *de anim.* c. xxviii; Justin M. *Apol.* ii. p. 65; Lucian *de Calumn.*, ubi de Hephæstione: καὶ τέλος ἔθυον παρέδρῳ καὶ ἀλεξικάκῳ θεῷ: Davies quotes in illustration Euseb. *H. E.* iv. c. 7; Rufinus *H. E.* ii. 13; Sulpic. Sever. *Dial.* iii. 8.

[17] *petebat,* i. q. appetebat, "desired." According to Plato, the Dæmon of Socrates dissuaded him only: for he more than once puts into his mouth this assertion: ἀεὶ ἀποτρέπει με, προτρέπει δὲ οὔποτε: *Apol. Socr.* § 19: *Theages,* § 10, *Phædr.* § 43. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxii. gives an ironical turn to this: "ipsi dæmonium adhæsisse a pueritia dicitur dehortatorium. Plane, a bono." Apuleius describes it thus: "ejus custos, prope dicam, par contubernio, familiaris cuncta quæ arcenda sunt arcuit: quæ cavenda sunt præcavit; et præmonenda præ-

non tantum sciunt dæmonas, sed etiam quidquid miraculi ludunt, per dæmonas faciunt: illis adspirantibus et infundentibus præstigias edunt, vel quæ non sunt videri vel quæ sunt non videri. Eorum magorum [19]et eloquio et negotio primus [20]Ostanes et verum Deum merita majestate prosequitur et angelos, id est, [21]ministros et nuntios Dei, sed veri, ejusque venerationi novit adsistere, ut et nutu ipso et vultu domini territi contremiscant. Idem C. XXVI.

monuit." Comp. Maxim. Tyr. *Diss.* xxvi and xxvii.

[18] *magi quoque.* Hanc opinionem non Christiani tantum scriptores, sed et Ethnici foverunt. Plato in *Sympos.* [p. 202 E.]: διὰ τούτου (δαιμόνων γένους) καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ πᾶσα χωρεῖ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἱερέων τέχνη, τῶν τε περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἐπῳδὰς καὶ τὴν μαντείαν πᾶσαν καὶ γοητείαν. Hinc Apuleius *de Deo Socratis* [p. 133, c. vi.]: per dæmonas, cuncta denunciata et magorum varia miracula, omnesque præsagiorum species reguntur. Davies. See Lactant. *l. c.* § 10: "magorum quoque ars omnis ac potentia horum adspirationibus constat: a quibus invocati, visus hominum præstigiis obcæcantibus fallunt, ut non videant ea quæ sunt et videre se putent illa quæ non sunt: and comp. Tertull. *Apol.* c. xxii. xxiii.

Infundentibus: sub. *se.* The sentence beginning with *vel quæ non sunt* is an epexegesis of *præstigias edunt:* Translate: "they exhibit feats of jugglery, so as both to make things to appear which do not exist, and things which do to disappear." On *præstigiæ* vide Index, *s. v.*

[19] *et eloquio et negotio,* "in theoretical and practical skill." Comp. Luc. *Evang.* xxiv. v. 19: δύνατος ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ.

[20] *Ostanes.* Ostanes or Hostanes, quoted as the prince and father of magicians by Apuleius *de magia,* cap. xc, cf. cap. xxvii; by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxx. c. 1: and others, ap. Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* i. i. 14. § 1; also by Arnobius, i. 52; Tatian. *Or. c. Gr.* § 17; Eusebius *Præp. Ev.* iv. p. 119:

ἠδ' ἐξείης Ἀφροδίτην
κλήσεσιν ἀφθέγκτοις, ἃς εὗρε μάγων ὄχ' ἄριστος
τοῦ ἐπταφθόγγου βασιλεὺς, ὃν πάντες ἴσασι
καὶ σφόδρα καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀεὶ θεὸν ἐπτακιφώνην.

The Christians have been accused of forging treatises under this name by Jablonski, *Panth. Ægypt.*

Merita majestate prosequitur: "gives him the honour due unto his name."

[21] *ministros et nuntios Dei,* "agents and messengers of God." Apulejus *de deo Socr.* c. vi speaks of them as "divinæ mediæ potestates inter summum æthera et infimas terras in isto intersitæ ætheris spatio, per quas et desideria nostra et merita ad deos commeant, inter homines cœlicolas-

C. XXVI. etiam dæmonas prodidit terrenos, vagos, [22]humanitatis inimicos. Quid Plato? qui invenire Deum [23]negotium credidit, nonne et angelos sine negotio narrat et dæmonas? et [24]in Symposio etiam suo naturam dæmonum exprimere connititur? vult enim esse substantiam inter mortalem immortalemque, [25]id est, inter corpus et spiritum mediam, terreni ponderis et cœlestis levitatis admixtione concretam, [26]ex qua movet etiam nos pro cupi- 11

que vectores hinc precum inde donorum, ceu quidam utriusque interpretes et salutigeruli.

[22] *humanitatis,* "mankind:" abstract for concrete, as above, ch. viii. § 2. So mortalitas is frequently used by Pliny the elder and Arnobius as equivalent to mortales. See Bünemann on *Lactant. Div. Inst.* p. 531.

[23] *negotium,* ἔργον, "a difficult task;" see ch. xix *note* 34.

Angelos narrat. Not that Plato actually employed the word angels, but he made frequent mention of good demons, whom the Christian writers aptly enough likened to angels in respect of their nature and offices. HAILES.

Sine negotio, "without difficulty."

[24] *in Symposio.* Plato *Sympos.* p. 202, E: πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μέταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ· ἑρμηνεῦον καὶ διαπορθμεῦον θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν, τῶν μὲν τὰς δεήσεις καὶ θυσίας, τῶν δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάξεις τε καὶ ἀμοιβὰς τῶν θυσιῶν· ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ὂν ἀμφοτέρων συμπληροῖ, ὥστε τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸ αὑτῷ ξυνδεδέσθαι. See Stallbaum's note, and comp. *Epim.* 984 E: Theodoret. *Orat.* iv. p. 61. 52. *ed. Gaisford:* θεοὺς δὲ καὶ δαίμονας (Πλάτων) κέκληκεν, οὓς ἡμεῖς ἀγγέλους προσαγορεύομεν· καὶ τούτους γε λειτουργοὺς ἔφησεν εἶναι τοῦ τῶν ὅλων Θεοῦ: Porphyrius περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων, lib. ii. p. 30, sqq.

[25] *id est inter corpus et spiritum.* Incommode mentem Platonis exponit Minucius. Ex hujusce philosophi sententia Dæmones inter deos hominesque collocantur. Nam quemadmodum homines sunt θνητοὶ καὶ ἐμπαθεῖς, ita dæmones sunt ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἐμπαθεῖς, quum ea deorum natura sit, ut ἀπάθειαν et ἀθανασίαν sortiantur. "Dæmones," ut verbis utar Apuleii *de deo Socratis,* p. 334, "sunt inter nos et "Deos ut loco regionis, ita ingenio "mentis intersiti: habentes com- "munem cum superis immortalita- "tem, cum inferis passionem...Sunt "genere animalia, ingenio rationalia, "animo passiva, corpore aëria, tem- "pore æterna. Ex his quinque quæ "commemoravi tria a principio ea- "dem nobiscum, quartum proprium, "postremum commune cum diis "immortalibus habent." Rem in aperta luce posuit Maximus Tyrius *Dissert.* xxvii. Adi sis et Hieroclem

dine amoris: et dicit informari, et [27]labi pectoribus humanis, et sensum movere, et adfectus fingere, et ardorem cupiditatis infundere. Isti igitur impuri spiritus, dæmones, ut ostensum Magis [1]a philosophis et a Platone, sub statuis et imaginibus [2]consecrati delitescunt et adflatu suo auctoritatem quasi præsentis numinis consequuntur, dum [3]inspirantur interim vatibus, dum fanis immorantur, dum nonnumquam [4]extorum fibras animant, avium vola- C. XXVI. C. XXVII.

For which end they lurk within statues, making men believe in the divinity of an idol: and by their manifold agency and chicanery seek to degrade mankind to the level of their own fallen nature.

in *Aur. Carm.* 11. DAVIES.

[26] *ex qua movet etiam nos pro cupidine amoris.* I have preferred to give this passage as it stands in the MS. with the exception of *pro cupidinem*, and *monet*, rather than adopt any of the many uncertain conjectures of editors. A doubtful sense may be elicited from it by making *ex qua* refer to the *admixtio terreni ponderis*, and *movet* to *substantia:* "in consequence of which (their earthy substance) they influence us out of the fondness of their sympathy for us." The word *procupido*, which editors bestow upon our author, is an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. Lindner reads; *ex qua* (sc. *admixtione terreni ponderis*) *manare in nos procupidinem amoris:* i.e. derivari eam procupidinem amoris, qua in nos ferantur. Oehler: *ex qua monet etiam nos* percipi *cupidinem amoris.*

[27] *labi*, for illabi.

Ch. XXVII. [1] *a philosophis et a Platone:* "by philosophers and *especially* Plato." On this use of *et* see Hand, *Tursellin.* Vol. ii. p. 480. 11: and comp. above, ch. xxi. note 1.

[2] *consecrati.* Davies, after Ursinus, prefers *consecratis:* comp. Cyprian, *de Id. Van.* ch. iv. § 3.

[3] *inspirantur.* Some read *inspirant* against MS. authority. Comp. the account of dæmon-agency given by Apuleius, *de deo Socr.* c. vi: curant singula...vel somniis conformandis vel extis fissiculandis vel præpetibus gubernandis, vel oscinibus erudiendis vel vatibus inspirandis vel fulminibus jaculandis vel nubibus coruscandis ceterisque adeo per quæ futura dignoscimus.

Interim, "at times." See ch. xix. note 23.

[4] *extorum fibras animant etc.* Comp. Lactant. ii. 16. 1. There were four great methods of divination. 1. By the flight of birds and song of birds (*augurium*). 2. By lots (*sortes*). 3. By the entrails of victims (*haruspicina*). 4. By consulting oracles. They are enumerated in the following lines of Tibullus to Phœbus:

Tu procul eventura vides, tibi deditus augur
Scit bene quid fati provida cantet avis,
Tuque regis sortes; per te præsentit aruspex,
Lubrica signavit cum deus exta notis.
Te duce Romanos nunquam frustrata Sibylla,
Abdita quæ senis fata canit pedibus.

C. XXVII. tus gubernant, [5]sortes regunt, [6]oracula efficiunt falsis pluribus involuta. Nam et falluntur et fallunt, ut 2
et nescientes sinceram veritatem et quam sciunt,
[7]in perditionem sui non confitentes. Sic [8]a cœlo 3
deorsum gravant et a Deo vero [9]ad materias avocant, [10]vitam turbant, [11]somnos inquietant, irrepentes

[5] *sortes regunt,* "manage the lots at their pleasure." The sortes were slips of parchment or pieces of wood upon which certain words or sentences were inscribed. They were mixed together in a box or urn, one was drawn or shaken out at random, and a conclusion formed from the expressions which it contained, as applied to the particular circumstances of the person who made the experiment. The sortes of the temple of Fortune at Præneste were among the most celebrated in Italy. Ramsay on *Tibullus,* p. 148. Comp. Cicero *de Divin.* ii. 41.

[6] *oracula efficiunt falsis pluribus involuta,* "devise oracles, mostly a long tissue of falsehoods." Comp. Lactant. ii. 16, § 13: in oraculis autem vel maxime fallunt quorum præstigias profani averitate intelligere non possunt: *ib.* 14 § 6: solent responsa in ambiguos exitus temperare: Tertullian. *Apol.* c. xxii: in oraculis quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, sciunt Crœsi.

[7] *in perditionem sui,* "to the utter ruin of themselves."

[8] *a cœlo deorsum gravant:* "weigh down the mind away from heaven," i. e. so that it cannot mount heavenwards. Comp. Athenag. quoted in note 13 to ch. xxvi: Tatian *Or. c. Gr.* c. 16. p. 72 B: δαίμονες τῇ σφῶν κακοηθείᾳ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκβακχεύοντες, ποικίλαις καὶ ἐψευσμέναις δραματουργίαις τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν παρατρέπουσι κάτω νενευκυίας, ὅπως μεταρσιούσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς πορείαν ἐξαδυνατῶσιν.

[9] *ad materias avocant:* "draw aside to the worship of material substances."

[10] *vitam turbant,* φοβητρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν, Justin, *Apol.* I. § 5; ii. § 6. LINDNER.

[11] *somnos.* The MS. has *omnes.* Comp. Cyprian, *de Id. Van.* iv. 4: Lactant. *D. I.* ii. xiv. 14; Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxiii. Lactantius' account of dæmon-agency is borrowed from this, *Div. Inst.* II. xv. § 14: "hi quoniam sunt spiritus tenues et incomprehensibiles, insinuant se corporibus hominum, et occulte in visceribus operati, valetudinem vitiant, morbos citant; somniis animos terrent; mentes furoribus quatiunt, ut homines his malis cogant ad eorum auxilia decurrere." Compare Tatian, *Or. c. Gr.* c. 18: τοῖς τινων ἐπιφοιτῶντες μέλεσιν, ἔπειτα δι' ὀνείρων τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς πραγματευόμενοι δόξαν, δημοσίᾳ τε τοὺς τοιούτους προϊέναι κελεύσαντες, πάντων ὁρώντων, ἐπειδὰν τῶν ἐγκοσμίων ἀπολαύσωσιν, ἀποπτάμενοι τῶν καμνόντων, ἣν ἐπραγματεύσαντο νόσον περιγράφοντες τοὺς ἀρχαίους εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκαθιστῶσιν: Justin M. *Apol.* I.

etiam corporibus occulte, ut spiritus tenues, [12]morbos fingunt, terrent mentes, membra distorquent, ut ad cultum sui cogant: ut [13]nidore altarium vel hostiis pecudum saginati, [14]remissis quæ constrinxerant, curasse videantur. [15]Hi sunt et furentes quos in publicum videtis excurrere; vates et ipsi absque C. XXVII.

It is these dæmons who inspire the fanatics that

c. xiv.: ποτὲ μὲν δι' ὀνείρων ἐπιφανείας ποτὲ δ' αὖ διὰ μαγικῶν στροφῶν χειροῦνται πάντας. See Thilo *cod. Apocryph. N. T.* i. 525.

[12] *morbos fingunt*, "counterfeit diseases:" Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxii: corporibus valetudines infligunt.

[13] *nidore altarium vel hostiis pecudum saginati:* "after they have glutted themselves with the savoury steam from altars, and the sacrifices of beasts." Their sensual delight in sacrifices is mentioned by Athenagoras, *leg. pro Christ.* c. xxiii. p. 30: λίχνοι περὶ τὰς κνίσσας καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱερείων αἷμα ὄντες; c. xxii. p. 29, προστετηκότες τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερείων αἵματι καὶ ταῦτα περιλιχμώμενοι: Justin M. *Apol.* ii. § 5; Tatian, *Or. c. Gr.* cap. xii. D, ἄσωτοι καὶ λίχνοι: Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxii; ut sibi pabula propria nidoris et sanguinis procuret simulacris imaginibus oblata: *de Idol.* c. vii: *ad Scap.* c. ii: Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* § 50, p. 49: αὐτοί που ἐξομολογοῦνται οἱ δαίμονες τὴν γαστριμαργίαν τὴν αὐτῶν,

Λοιβῆς τε κνίσσης τε, τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας ἡμεῖς,

λέγοντες. Origen *c. Cels.* Lib. iii. p. 128, τῇ λιχνείᾳ τῶν δαιμόνων: *ibid.* ἑώρων τὰς λοιβὰς καὶ τὰς κνίσσας, ἐφ' αἷς λιχνῶς ἥδοντο, καθαιρουμένας ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν τὰ Ἰησοῦ μαθήματα: *ib.* Lib. vii. p. 335; *ib.* Lib. viii. p. 418: αἵματι καὶ κνίσσῃ προσηλωμένων: Augustin *C. D.* iii. 20: Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* iv. 10, p. 148 c; Cyprian, *de I. V.* c. 4.

[14] *remissis quæ constrinxerant, curasse videantur*, "that they may be thought to have effected a cure, when they have merely given a release from the bonds of their own making." Comp. Justin M. *Apol.* ii. 5; Tatian, *ubi supra*, note 10; Irenæus *adv. hæres.* ii. 32; Origen, *c. Cels.* vii. p. 335; Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxii.: benefici plane et circa curas valetudinum. Lædunt enim primo, dehinc remedia præcipiunt ad miraculum nova sive contraria, post quæ desinunt lædere, ut curasse videantur; Cyprian, *l. c.*; Lactantius, *D. I.* ii. 14. 13: depulsores malorum, quæ ipsi faciunt et irrogant: Arnobius *adv. nat.* i. 48.

[15] *hi sunt et furentes etc.* (sc. dæmones). Fortasse legendum, *Hinc sunt et furentes:* quos postea *vates absque templo* vocat noster, quod ut vates in templis, sic hi in vicis et plateis insaniebant et rotabantur. Vide Clementis *Recogn.* Lib. v. cap. 13: ac *Homil.* ix. cap. 7; Origenem, *contra Celsum*, Lib. vii. p. 333, sqq. et Prudentium, *Perist.* x. 1063. DAVIES. See also Lactantius, *D. I.* iv. 17. 12, and for a further account of the notions which the Christians had of dæmonology and of their origin, Semisch's *Justin M.* Vol. ii. p. 279, seq. *Transl.*

C. XXVII. templo: sic insaniunt, sic bacchantur, [16]sic rotantur: [17]par et in illis instigatio dæmonis sed argumentum dispar furoris. De ipsis etiam illa quæ [18]paullo ante tibi dicta sunt, ut Jupiter ludos repeteret ex somnio, ut cum equis Castores viderentur, ut cingulum matronæ navicula sequeretur. 5

run about in the streets with frantic and irrational gestures, like those of the temple-priests and diviners: it is they who produce apparitions and other illusions.

Hæc omnia sciunt pleraque pars vestrum ipsos dæmonas de semetipsis confiteri, quoties a nobis et [19]tormentis verborum et orationis incendiis de corporibus exiguntur. Ipse Saturnus et Serapis et 7

All this is attested by their own confession, when they are put to shame and exorcised

[16] *sic rotantur.* This word, like the two preceding, was commonly applied to those who were under the temporary influence of some agency which was considered as imparting a spirit of prophecy. Comp. Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* i. 19: quoniam comperi nonnullos, qui se plurimum sapere suis persuasionibus credunt, insanire, bacchari, et velut quidquam ex promptum oraculo dicere; with Virgil's description of the Sibyl prophesying, *Æn.* vi. v. 77, sqq. See also Lucan, *Phars.* v. 166; Apuleius, *Miles.* § 8; Statius, *Silv.* iii;

> Vates sanctior incipit, tacendum est:
> En! ut colla rotat, novisque late
> Bacchatur spatiis, viamque replet.

[17] *par et in illis instigatio dæmonis etc.* "there is the same impulse of the dæmon in their case (as in that of the seers), though the purpose for which the madness is excited is different."

[18] *paulo ante,* ch. vii. §§ 3, 4.

De ipsis etiam, "is from (i. e. the work of) these identical spirits."

[19] *tormentis verborum et orationis incendiis,* "are expelled by the tortures of our words and the fire of our prayer." Compare the challenge of Tertullian, *Apol.* 23: edatur hic aliqui sub tribunalibus vestris, quem dæmone agi constet. Jussus a quolibet Christiano loqui tam se dæmonem confitebitur de vero quam alibi dominum de falso: *ibid.* Christum timentes in Deo et Deum in Christo subjiciuntur servis Dei et Christi. Ita de contactu deque afflatu nostro, or contemplatione et repræsentatione ignis illius correpti etiam de corporibus nostro imperio excedunt inviti et dolentes et vobis præsentibus erubescentes. Credite illis, dum verum de se ipsis loquuntur, qui mentientibus creditis. Nemo ad suum dedecus mentitur, quin potius ad honorem: *de Anima,* c. 57. Comp. also Cyprian, who has expanded the description, given by Minucius, in the *de Id. Van.* c. iv; *ad Demetrianum,* § 8: quando a nobis adjurantur, et torquentur spiritualibus flagris et verborum tormentis, de obsessis corporibus ejiciuntur. Lactantius, *de Orig. Error.* 15, § 3: justos, id est, cultores Dei metuunt: cujus nomine adjurati de corporibus excedunt: quorum verbis, tamquam flagris, verberati non modo dæ-

Jupiter et quidquid dæmonum colitis victi dolore quod sunt, eloquuntur: [20]nec utique in turpitudinem sui, nonnullis præsertim vestrum adsistentibus, 8 mentiuntur. Ipsis testibus esse eos dæmonas de se verum confitentibus credite: adjurati enim per Deum verum et solum, inviti, miseri [21]corporibus inhorrescunt: et vel exsiliunt statim vel evanescunt gradatim, prout fides patientis adjuvat, aut 9 [22]gratia curantis adspirat. Sic Christianos [23]de proximo fugitant, quos longe in cœtibus per vos laces- C. XXVII.

by us, in the presence of their worshippers.

monas esse se confitentur: sed etiam nomina sua edunt illa, quæ in templis adorantur, quod plerumque coram cultoribus suis faciunt, non utique in opprobrium religionis sed honoris sui: quia nec Deo, per quem adjurantur: nec justis, quorum voce torquentur, mentiri possunt. Itaque maximis sæpe ululatibus editis verberari se et ardere et jam jamque ardere proclamant: Id. *de justitia* c. xxi. Similar statements are confidently made by other fathers of the Church: e. g. Justin M. *Apol.* ii. 6; *Dialog.* c. 30; Theophil. *ad Autolyc.* ii. 8; Tatian, *or. ad Gr.* c. xvi; Origen, *c. Cels.* i. 25, 46; iii. 24; vii. 4; viii. 58; Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* iii. 6; Julius Firmicus, *de Err. Prof. Rel.* pp. 29, 30; Athanasius, *de Incarnat. Verbi*, pp. 73, 88: Ἡκέτω δὲ ὁ πεῖραν τῶν προλεχθέντων βουλόμενος λαβεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φαντασίας τῶν δαιμόνων ... χρησάσθω τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ γελωμένου παρ' αὐτοῖς σταυροῦ, τὸν Χριστὸν ὀνομάσας μόνον καὶ ὄψεται πῶς δι' αὐτοῦ δαίμονες μὲν φεύγουσι; Augustin, *de C. D.* xxii. 8, § 7, 8: S. Hilary, *in Constant.* 8. See more on this subject in a note of the Oxford Translation of Tertullian, Vol. i. pp. 57, 58; and on the office of the Exorcist, Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. i. p. 280. See also Semisch on *Justin M.* Vol. ii. p. 286 *Tr.*

[20] *nec utique in turpitudinem sui:* "and it is not to be supposed that they utter lies to their own shame, especially in the presence of some of you," sc. their worshippers. Comp. Lactantius, *ubi supra*, note 18.

[21] *corporibus inhorrescunt:* Comp. S. James ii. 19. δαιμόνια φρίσσουσι: S. Luke ix. 39: καὶ ἐξαίφνης κράζει καὶ σπαράσσει αὐτὸν μετὰ ἀφροῦ καὶ μόγις ἀποχωρεῖ. *Miser* may be translated by our word "poor," as used in contempt or pity: so ch. xii. 3, invitus, miser, infirmitatis argueris.

[22] *gratia curantis*, sc. Dei.

[23] *de proximo fugitant*, "run away fast from their neighbourhood." Compare Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 27: "quos de longinquo oppugnant, de proximo obsecrant;" and "lædere gestiunt quos alias verentur." On *de proximo*, see Hand *Tursellin.* Vol. ii. p. 223: and on *fugitant*, Bünemann ad Lactant. *Div. Inst.* p. 686.

C. XXIIX. sebant. Ideo inserti mentibus imperitorum odium nostri serunt occulte per timorem: naturale est enim et odisse quem timeas; et [24]quem metueris infestare si possis. Sic occupant animos et obstruunt pectora, ut ante nos incipiant homines odisse, [25]quam nosse: ne cognitos aut imitari possint aut damnare non possint.

Their fear inspires them with hatred of us; and they wreak their spite by secretly disseminating false reports, and so fanning the antipathies of their blind agents against us, and preventing examination of our religion, lest it should prove true.

Quam autem iniquum sit [1]incognitis et inexploratis judicare, quod facitis, nobis ipsis pœnitentibus credite; et nos enim [2]idem fuimus et eadem vobiscum quondam adhuc cæci et hebetes sentiebamus, quasi Christiani monstra colerent, infantes vorarent, convivia incesta miscerent, nec intelli- 2
gebamus [3]ab his fabulas istas semper ventilari et numquam vel investigari vel probari, nec tanto tempore aliquem existere qui proderet, non tan-

The unfairness of attaching ready credence to these malicious calumnies may be signally exemplified in my own case, for I was myself once seduced into believing such groundless stories

[24] *quem metueris.* Sic MS. Freinshem. *ad Curt.* x. 8, 1, *oderis,* ut apud Ciceron. *Offic.* ii. 7: quem metuunt, oderunt; quem quisque odit perisse expetit. Conf. Tacit. *Agric.* c. 42. Recte si quid video. LINDNER.

[25] *quam nosse.* "Hoc argumentum tractat Tertullianus *Apologet.* cap. i: quid iniquius, quam ut oderint homines quod ignorant, etiamsi res mereatur odium? Tunc enim meretur, quum cognoscitur an mereatur." Sed et Lactantius, *D. I.* Lib. v. 1. 4. HERALDUS.

Ch. XXIIX. [1] *incognitis* sc. rebus. Meursius *in incognitis.*

[2] *idem fuimus,* for iidem. I should prefer to read *idem fecimus,* because of the preceding *quod facitis,* and *sensisse, egisse* in § 6. Cf. Tertull. *Apol.* c. 18: hæc et nos risimus aliquando; de vestris fuimus.

[3] *ab his,* sc. rumigerulis. *Ventilari,* "were fanned," "kept alive."

[4] *gratiam indicii consecuturum,* "although, in so doing, he would obtain a reward for making the disclosure."

[5] *malum autem adeo non esse etc.* "that so far from there being any "thing criminal in them, on the "contrary an accused Christian "never shewed marks of shame "or dismay." Comp. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 1: omne malum aut timore aut pudore natura perfudit—Christianus vero nihil simile? neminem pudet, neminem pœnitet, nisi plane retro non fuisse.

Unum pœniteret. This is a classical construction, though not one

tum facti veniam, verum etiam [4]indicii gratiam C. XXIIX.
3 consequuturum; [5]malum autem adeo non esse, ut Christianus reus nec erubesceret nec timeret, et unum solummodo quod non ante fuerit pœniteret.
4 Nos tamen quum sacrilegos aliquos et incestos, parricidas etiam, defendendos et [6]tuendos suscipiebamus, hos nec audiendos in totum putabamus; [7]nonnumquam etiam miserantes eorum crudelius sæviebamus, ut torqueremus confitentes ad negandum, videlicet ne perirent; exercentes in his perversam quæstionem, non quæ verum erueret sed
5 quæ mendacium cogeret. Et [8]si qui infirmior, malo pressus et victus Christianum se negasset, favebamus ei, quasi ejerato nomine jam omnia
6 facta sua illa negatione purgaret. Agnoscitisne eadem nos sensisse et egisse quæ sentitis et geri-

before I knew the source, whence they were derived, and so formed a totally wrong estimate of the character of the Christians; nay even reversed all the ordinary rules of evidence in their case.

of frequent occurrence: comp. Cic. *Tusc.* v. 28, § 81: A. Gellius, *N. A.* xiii. 2.

[6] *tuendos suscipiebamus*, "undertook the defence of." *Suscipere clientes* was a technical forensic term.

In totum, i. q. omnino, "at all." Comp. above ch. xxiv. § 5.

[7] *nonnumquam etiam etc.*, "and sometimes we were more cruel in our pity than our rage: by torturing confessors into saving themselves by a disavowal of their religion: thus employing in their case a strange abuse of tortures, viz. not to draw out the truth, but to compel a breach of it." Compare Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 2: itaque nec in illo ex forma malorum judicandorum agitis erga nos, quod ceteris negantibus tormenta adhibetis ad confitendum, solis Christianis ad negandum...Quum præsumatis de sceleribus nostris ex nominis confessione, cogitis tormentis de confessione decedera. Vociferatur homo: *Christianus sum.* Quod est, dicit; tu vis audire quod non est. Veritatis extorquendæ præsides de nobis solis mendacium elaboratis audire. Hoc sum, inquit quod quæris an sim. Quid me torques in perversum? *ib.* cap. vii: *ad Scap.* c. iv: Justin M. *Apol.* i. 4; Cyprian, *ad Demetrian.* c. vii; Eusebius *H. E.* v. 1.

[8] *si qui* for si quis. Comp. Lactantius, *D. I.* v. 9. 11: si qui autem doloris vel mortis metu cœleste sacramentum deseruerint, eos honoribus mactant, ut eorum exemplo ceteros illiciant. *Ejerato nomine*, "by abjuring the name" of Christian.

C. XXIIX. tis? quum [9]si ratio, non instigatio dæmonis judicaret, urgendi magis, non ut diffiterentur se Christianos, sed ut de incestis, stupris, de impiatis sacris, de infantibus immolatis faterentur. His enim 7
et hujusmodi fabulis iidem dæmones [10]ad exsecrationis horrorem imperitorum aures adversus nos referserunt. [11]Nec tamen mirum, quum hominum fama, quæ semper insparsis mendaciis alitur, ostensa veritate consumitur: [12]sic est negotium dæmonum: ab ipsis enim rumor falsus et seritur et fovetur.

[9] *si ratio etc.*, "had our judgment been influenced by reason, and not by the promptings of an evil spirit." *Urgendi* sc. essent, "they (the Christians) ought to have been pressed."

[10] *ad exsecrationis horrorem*, i. e. "ut nos horreant et exsecrentur." LINDNER.

[11] *nec tamen mirum*, si scil. imperitorum aures adversus nos referserunt, nolunt enim famam, ostensa veritate, consumi. Tertullianus, *Apol.* cap. vii: "Quid? quod ea famæ conditio est, ut non nisi cum mentitur perseveret; et tamdiu vivit quamdiu non probat. Siquidem ubi probavit cessat esse, et quasi officio nuntiandi functa rem tradit." LINDNER.

Hominum fama, i. e. fama hominum oribus jactata. The MS. reading is *omnium*.

[12] *sic est negotium dæmonum*: adeoque est hæc fama ipsorum dæmonum negotium et opus; Cicero, *Tusc.* 4, c. 6: Sic (solchergestalt) quatuor perturbationes sunt. LINDNER.

[13] *caput asini rem nobis esse divinam*; in allusion to the reproach of Cæcilius, ch. ix. § 4.

[14] *cum vestra vel Epona*, i. e. "even together with your goddess Epona." A similar transposition of *vel* occurs in ch. xi. § 8, *vel ut exemplo credere-tis*. Epona was the goddess of grooms: Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xvi: vos non negabitis et jumenta omnia et totos cantherios cum sua Epona coli a vobis: *ad Nat.* i. c. 11: Juvenal, *Sat.* viii. v. 157:

....jurat
Solam Eponam, et facies olida ad præsepia pictas.

Apuleius, *Metam.* III. p. 313, quoted by Cellarius: Respicio pilæ mediæ, quæ stabuli trabes sustinebat in ipso fere meditullio Eponæ deæ simulacrum, quod accurate corollis roseis, equidem recentibus, fuerat ornatum.

Totos asinos, i. q. universos; so above, ch. xxiii: *totis hominibus*.

[15] *asinos cum Iside religiose devoratis*. "We are told by Plutarch, "*de Iside* ii. 362, *ed. Xylandr.* that "the Egyptians were wont, at cer-"tain festivals, to eat cakes having "the figure of an ass, the symbol of "Typhon, imprinted on them. This "may account for the first part of "the expression here used: but it is

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8 Inde est, quod audire te dicis [13] caput asini rem nobis esse divinam. Quis tam stultus ut hoc colat? quis stultior ut hoc coli credat? nisi quod vos et totos asinos in stabulis [14] cum vestra vel Epona consecratis et eosdem [15] asinos cum Iside religiose devoratis; item [16] boum capita et capita vervēcum et immolatis et colitis; [17] de capro etiam et homine mixtos et [18] leonum et canum vultus deos dedicatis. 9 Nonne et [19] Apim bovem cum Ægyptiis adoratis et pascitis? nec eorum sacra damnatis instituta ser-

One of the reports they propagate is "that we pay homage to an ass's head."

"difficult to understand what is "meant by eating the representation "of Isis." This has led the critics to propose various emendations of the word *devoratis*: as *denotatis*, "you point them out in the processions made by the priests of Isis," (*Heraldus*); *decoratis*, "you bedeck them," (*Rigaltius*): (Comp. Apuleius, *Metam.* xi. p. 765 with *Hildebrand's* note, and p. 770; also Ovid. *Fast.* vi. v. 311, 317); *devotatis*, "you consecrate them," (*Meursius*). Hailes. [In agris ostensum contra incommoda asini caput. Thesaur. vi. col. 176 et 223. J. Gr.]

[16] *boum capita*, i. q. boves, according to Bochart *Hierozoic.* p. 1. Lib. ii. c. 34, *f. m.* 346, quoted by Buenemann, Lactant. *Div. Inst.* iv. 10, 12; Herodotus, *Euterp.* ii. c. 41, says that the Egyptians sacrificed the male, but not the female, because dedicated to Isis.

Vervēcum capita, "wethers."

[17] *de capro et homine mixtos*, in allusion of course to their god Pan, who, according to Herodotus was represented as αἰγοπρόσωπος and τραγοσκελής: *Euterp.* ii. 46: *Sil. Italic.* xiii. 327, sqq.; and the Satyrs, described as capripedes, κεράσται, οἷα τοῖς ἄρτι γεννηθεῖσιν ἐρίφοις τὰ κέρατα ὑποφύεται, Lucian. *Bacchus*, Tom. iii. p. 75, 15.

[18] *leonum et canum vultus.* Unde Cynocephali, Ægyptiorum monstra. De Leonum figura Arnobius, Lib. vi. cap. 10: inter deos videmus vestros leonis torvissimam faciem mero oblitam minio et nomine Frugiferio nuncupari, (i. e. Mithra; vide Hildebrand, *ad l.*); Adde Tertullian. *Apolog.* cap. xxi. Cellarius. Comp. Macrobius, *Saturn.* Lib. i. c. 20; Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 39; Porphyr. *de Abst.* Lib. iv. p. 399; Juvenal, *Sat.* xv. 8:

illic, (*in Ægypto*)
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.

[19] *Apim bovem.* The sacred, oracular bull, which was kept at Memphis in a magnificent temple, surrounded with pleasure-grounds for his exercise. Ælian, *de Anim.* ii. 10. This animal was supposed to be an incarnation of Osiris: said to live for twenty-five years, at the end of which period he was supposed to drown himself by leaping into the Nile:

c. XXIIX. pentibus, crocodilis, belluis ceteris et [20]avibus et [21]piscibus, quorum aliquem deum [22]si quis occiderit, etiam capite punitur. Iidem Ægyptii (cum pleris- 10
que) vobiscum non magis Isidem quam [23]ceparum acrimonias metuunt: nec Serapidem magis quam strepitus per pudenda corporis expressos contremiscunt.

Another: "That we worship the *pudenda* of our priests:" a charge which, like the former, may be retorted upon the heathen

Etiam ille, qui de adoratis sacerdotis virilibus 11
adversum nos fabulatur, tentat in nos conferre quæ sua sunt. Ista enim impudicitiæ eorum for- 12
sitan sacra sint, apud quos [24]sexus omnis membris omnibus prostat, apud quos tota impudicitia voca-

Quos dignetur agros aut quo se gurgite Nili
Mergat odoratus trepidis pastoribus Apis.
STAT. *Silv.* III. ii. 115.

He was then interred with great pomp, and lamented by the priests until a new Apis was found: Plin. *N. H.* viii. 46; Prichard's *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 305; Jablonski, *Panth. Ægypt.* iv. 2. § 17. There were other sacred bulls besides Apis, as Mnevio, worshipped at Heliopolis (Strabo, *Geograph.* xvii. p. 703): Pacis, at Hermonthis; and Onuphis. Ramsay's *Tibullus*, p. 168.

belluis ceteris. Which they worshipped as symbolical of their different gods. Lucian, *Imag.* § 11, quoted by Lindner: *αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ νεὼς* (apud Ægyptios) *κάλλιστός τε καὶ μέγιστος, λίθοις τοῖς πολυτελέσιν ἠσκημένος καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ γραφαῖς διηνθισμένος ἔνδον δὲ ἣν ζητῇς τὸν θεὸν ἢ πίθηκός ἐστιν ἢ ἶβις ἢ τράγος ἢ αἴλουρος.*

[20] *avibus.* Cic. *N. D.* i. 36; Juven. *l. c.* v. 3:

... crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin.

Comp. Addison, *Dial. on Medals*, Vol. I. p. 510, *ed. Tonson.*

[21] *piscibus.* Juvenal, *l. c.* v. 7; Herod. ii. 72; *νομίζουσι πάντων ἰχθύων τὸν καλεύμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἱρὸν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἔγχελυν.* Cic. *de N. D.* III. 15.

[22] *si quis occiderit.* Herod. ii. 65, *τὸ δ' ἄν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν μὲν ἑκών, θάνατος ἡ ζημία*: cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxiv; Cic. *N. D.* i. 29.

[23] *ceparum acrimonias:* Comp. Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osir.* p. 253; A. Gell. *N. A.* xx. 8; Lucian, *dial. Jup. Trag.* p. 699, sqq.; Juvenal, *Sat.* xv. v. 9:

Porrum et cepe nefas violare et frangere morsu.
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina.

Prudentius in *Romano Martyre*, v. 259, quoted by Elmenhorst,

Adpone porris religiosas arulas,
Venerare acerbum cepe, mordax allium.

tur urbanitas, qui scortorum licentiæ invident, qui medios viros lambunt, libidinoso ore inguinibus inhærescunt, homines malæ linguæ etiam si tacerent, quos prius tædescit impudicitiæ suæ, quam pudescit. Proh nefas! id in se mali facinoris admittunt, quod nec ætas potest pati mollior nec cogi servitus durior. Hæc et hujusmodi propudia [1]nobis non licet nec audire; [2]etiam pluribus turpe defendere est. Ea enim de castis fingitis et pudicis, quæ fieri non crederemus, nisi [3]de vobis probaretis. [4]Nam quod religioni nostræ hominem noxium et crucem ejus adscribitis, longe de vi-

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without injustice: for the abominable impurities which they impute to us are practised nowhere but amongst themselves.

You tax us with ascribing divinity to

The words *cum plerisque*, Lindner considers to be a gloss.

[24] *sexus omnis*, i. e. uterque, as in ch. ix. § 8. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* i. 20, 25: nulla pudicitia, libidinibus effrenatis omnem sexum et omnes corporis partes contaminantibus: *ib.* vi. 28. 10. Comp. *Romans* i. v. 26 foll.; Martial *passim;* Seneca, *de benef.* iii. 20; *Quæst. nat.* i. 16.

Pati, proprium verbum. Cf. Cicero, *pro Mil.* c. 4.

Cogi servitus, sc. ad patiendum. Elmenhorst quotes in illustration Ulpian, *leg.* ii. *digest.* from a Rescript of Antoninus Pius, *de his qui sui vel alieni juris sunt.*

Ch. XXIX. [1] *Nobis non licet nec audire.* More Græcorum particulas negantes geminat noster, contra quam vulgo fit apud Latinos: interdum tamen aliter se res habet. Terentius, *Andr.* Act. II. Sc. ii. *vs. ult.:* neque tu haud dices tibi non prædictum: Cæsar, *B. G.* vii. c. 77: nolite hos vestro auxilio spoliare nec stultitia ac temeritate vestra omnem Galliam prosternere: Cicero, *pro Quint.* cap. 14: non opinor id quidem neque jus esse neque cuiquam expedire. V. N. Heinsius ad Petron. *Satir.* cap. 42. DAVIES.

[2] *etiam pluribus defendere*, sc. verbis, "so much as to speak of them any longer though in our own justification."

[3] *de vobis*, i. q. ex vobis, "from your own practices." Comp. ch. vii. 2: Bünemann *ad Lactant.* p. 28.

[4] *nam quod etc.* "For *as to* the worship of a malefactor and his cross, which you impute to us," etc. On the use of *nam*, compare above ch. xix. § 15. Gronovius, in his MS. notes, remarks on the answer to this charge: "Admiranda abstinentia ulterius progrediendi in cau-"sam, ubi poterat cœlum adscendere, "inferos debellare omniaque Dei "placita et arcana proferre ad de-"scribendum istum hominem. Sed "exemplo suo confirmat taciturni-"tatem Christianorum antea cele-"bratam et ineptiam illorum modo "perstringere satis habuit." See Wilson's *Illustr. of N. T.* p. 358.

C. XXIX. cinia veritatis erratis, qui putatis Deum credi aut meruisse noxium, aut potuisse terrenum. Næ ille 3 miserabilis, cujus in homine mortali spes omnis innititur: totum enim ejus auxilium cum exstincto homine finitur. [5]Ægyptii sane hominem sibi quem 4 colant eligunt; illum unum propitiant, illum de omnibus consulunt, illi victimas cædunt: et ille, qui ceteris deus sibi certe homo est, velit nolit: [6]nec enim conscientiam suam decipit, si fallit alienam. Etiam principibus et regibus, non ut magnis 5 et [7]electis viris, sicut fas est, sed, ut deis, turpiter adulatio falsa blanditur; quum et præclaro viro honor verius, et optimo amor dulcius præbeatur. Sic eorum [8]numen vocant, ad imagines supplicant, genium, id est dæmonem ejus, implorant: 6

a malefactor and mere earthly being; this last charge, we assure you, is founded on a very great mistake.

insincere.

with great pleasure.

[5] *Ægyptii sane.* Porphyrius de Ægyptiis, περὶ ἀποχῆς, Lib. iv. § 9, ἄνθρωπον σέβουσιν κατὰ Ἄνουβιν κώμην ἐν ᾗ καὶ τούτῳ θύεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τὰ ἱερεῖα καίεται. Hujusce loci testimonio utuntur Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* Lib. III. c. 4, 12, ac Theodoretus, *Therap.* III, ut monuit J. B. Cotelerius ad Clementis *Homil.* vi. 23, ubi sic Episcopus iste personatur: ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἄνθρωπος ὡς θεὸς πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου προσκυνεῖται. Vide et *Homil.* xi. 6. DAVIES.

[6] *nec enim conscientiam suam decipit,* "for he cannot mock or beguile his own sentiments, if he does mislead those of others."

[7] *electis,* sc. a Deo.

[8] *numen vocant,* i. q. invocant. *Ad imagines supplicant.* Plin. Lib. x. *Epist.* 97 ad Trajanum: "quum præeunte me deos appellarent, et imagini tuæ, quam propter hoc jusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, thure ac vino supplicarent." CELLARIUS.

at my dictation

[9] *per Jovis genium pejerare.* By the civil law pejeratio per genium Cæsaris was punishable, while pejeratio per deos was left to be punished by the gods. 'Jusjurandi contemta religio satis Deum ultorem habet,' says the Emperor Alexander; *l.* 2. *Cod. d. reb. cred.* Comp. Tertullian *Apol.* c. xxix: citius apud vos per omnes deos quam per unum genium Cæsaris pejeratur.

[10] *nec optamus:* "nor do we court them;" which the heathen were led to suppose was the case, from seeing the alacrity with which confessors braved martyrdom. Tertullian *Apolog.* c. 50: Ergo, inqui-

et est eis tutius [9]per Jovis genium pejerare quam regis. C. XXIX.

7 Cruces etiam nec colimus [10]nec optamus. Vos plane qui ligneos deos consecratis, cruces ligneas ut deorum vestrorum partes forsitan adoratis. Nam et signa ipsa et [11]cantabra et vexilla castrorum quid aliud quam inauratæ cruces sunt, et ornatæ? [12]Tropæa vestra victricia non tantum simplicis crucis 8 faciem, verum et adfixi hominis imitantur. Signum sane crucis naturaliter visimus [13]in navi, quum velis tumentibus vehitur, quum expansis palmulis labitur: et quum erigitur jugum, crucis signum est, et [14]quum homo porrectis manibus Deum pura mente veneratur. Ita signo crucis aut [15]ratio naturalis innititur aut vestra religio formatur.

The charge of worshipping *crosses* also is a libel upon us, though it is one which may be brought home to yourselves.

tis, cur querimini, quod vos insequamur, si pati *vultis*, cum deligere debeatis, per quos patimini, quod vultis. The next sentence may be translated, "Certainly in your own case, it may be a question whether you, who worship wooden gods, do not worship cross timbers, as being part and parcel of your gods."

[11] *cantabra*, "banners." The precise difference between these and *vexilla* is unknown, as the word only occurs in this passage and in Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xvi: Siphara illa vexillorum et cantabrorum stolæ crucum sunt: where most of the sentiments which occur in this chapter will be found repeated.

[12] *tropæa.* Tertullian, *Apol. l. c.*: sed et Victorias adoratis, cum in tropæis cruces intestina sint tropæorum; See Woodham's note on the passage, p. 55, and *The Dict. of Antiqq.* p. 1169 b.

[13] *in navi etc.* Justin M. *Apol.* I. c. 55: θάλασσα μὲν γὰρ οὐ τέμνεται, ἢν μὴ τοῦτο τὸ τρόπαιον, ὃ καλεῖται ἱστίο, ἐν τῇ νηῒ σῶον μείνῃ, ubi plura Kortholt. Argumentum ficulneum, ut ait Davies. LINDNER.

Expansis palmulis, "with oars spread out."

[14] *quum homo etc.* Justinus *l. c.* ἔκτασιν χειρῶν ἔχειν.....οὐδὲν ἄλλο δείκνυσιν ἢ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ.

[15] *ratio naturalis innititur;* signum crucis aut rationem habet in natura, aut vestra religio ex eo consistit. LINDNER. The conclusion which Octavius means to draw, is that the heathen ought not to object to the use of the cross amongst Christians, who did not worship it, when it was so much in vogue amongst themselves both in religious and common uses.

C. XXX. Illum jam velim [1]convenire, qui initiari nos dicit aut credit [2]de cæde infantis et sanguine. Putas posse fieri, ut tam molle, tam parvulum corpus [3]fata vulnerum capiat? ut quisquam illum rudem sanguinem novelli et [4]vixdum hominis cædat, fundat, exhauriat? [5]nemo hoc potest credere, nisi qui possit audere. Vos enim video procreatos filios nunc feris et avibus [6]exponere, nunc adstrangulatos misero mortis genere elidere: sunt quæ in ipsis

You say that *infanticide* is one of the rites of our religion; such a charge, as it provokes our abhorrence, so could never be believed but by those who are themselves familiar with, and capable of, bloodshed.

Ch. XXX. [1] *convenire*, "to meet." "Insignis παῤῥησία," remarks Lindner, "pro videre."

[2] *de cæde.* I have already remarked on the use of this preposition in later latinity: see passages in Index II. Here it is used to mark "the instrument," or "means:" just as in the expressions, *de fascia constringere, de canna occidere, de torno componere,* which occur in Marcellus. Vide Salmasius ad Lamprid. *Alex. Sever.* c. 37, quoted by Hand, *Tursellin.* Vol. ii. p. 221.

[3] *fata vulnerum capiat*, i. e. fatalia vulnera; "should have room for several mortal wounds."

[4] *vixdum hominis*, i. e. qui vixdum est homo. Comp. above, ch. xxi. § 13: semper adolescentis Apollinis filius. So Catullus, iv. 11: ubi ille post phaselus (i. e. qui postea fuit) antea fuit Comata Silva: Horace, *Od.* iv. 6. 3. Trojæ prope victor, i. e. qui prope fuit. The expression *rudem sanguinem cædat* is worthy of notice. Comp. Burmann *ad Quintil. Instit.* i. 1. p. 13.

[5] *nemo hoc potest credere.* Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 9: qui ista credis de homine; potes et facere. ELMENHORST.

[6] *exponere.* Comp. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* v. 15; vi. 20, 18—21; non de nostro sed ex illorum numero semper existunt, qui natos ex se pueros aut strangulent aut, si nimium pii fuerint, exponant: Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 9: *ad Nat.* ii. c. 12; Plin. Lib. x. *ep.* 71, 72; Justin M. *Apol.* i. cc. 27, 29; *Epist. ad Diogn.* τεκνογονοῦσιν (οἱ Χριστιανοὶ) ἀλλ' οὐ ῥιπτοῦσι τὰ γεννώμενα; Athenag. *Legat.* c. 30, p. 38.

[7] *extinguant.* Juv. *Sat.* ii. 32; vi. 368. Comp. Athenag. *Leg. l. c.*: οἳ τὰς τοῖς ἀμβλωθριδίοις χρωμένας ἀνδροφονεῖν τε καὶ λόγον ὑφέξειν τῆς ἐξαμβλώσεως τῷ Θεῷ φαμὲν, κατὰ ποῖον ἀνδροφονοῦμεν λόγον; Oehler on Tertullian, *Apol.* p. 147, note z.

Parricidium, is said of any "unnatural murder;" as of "fratricide," ch. xxv. § 2: of a parent's murder of his own children, as here and in ch. xxxi. § 10. Comp. Liv. iii. 50, viii. 11; Ramsay's *Roman Antiqq.* p. 304; *Classical Museum*, Vol. iii. p. 301.

[8] *disciplina*, "practice," "custom:" cf. ch. xxv. § 4. *Voravit*: κατέπινε: Herod. v. 463; Tatian, *c. Græc.* p. 162; Lactant. *D. I.* i. 13.

[9] *merito*, i. q. recte, "with good reason:" cf. Bünemann on Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* p. 866. The

visceribus, medicaminibus epotis, originem futuri hominis [7]extinguant et parricidium faciant ante
3 quam pariant. Et hæc utique de deorum vestrorum [8]disciplina descendunt. Nam Saturnus filios suos non exposuit, sed voravit. [9]Merito ei in nonnullis Africæ partibus a parentibus infantes immolabantur, blanditiis et osculo comprimente vagitum,
4 ne [10]flebilis hostia immoletur. [11]Tauris etiam Ponticis et Ægyptio Busiridi ritus fuit hospites immo- C. XXX.

oblation of human sacrifices by the Phœnicians to Saturn is mentioned by Plato, *Minos*, p. 315, B, C: Ennius, *Annales*, Lib. i. p. 28, seq. *ed. Hesselius;* Pescennius Festus, quoted by Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* i. 21, 13; Curtius Rufus *Alex. Vit.* Lib. iv. c. 16; Diodorus Sic. *Bibl. Hist.* Lib. xx. cap. 14; Plutarch περὶ δεισιδαιμ.; Porphyrius, *de abstin.* ii. 56; Justinus, *Hist.* xviii. 6, 11; Silius Italicus, iv. 765; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7; Tatian *or. ad Græc.* c. 46; Origen, *c. Cels.* v. § 27, p. 249; Athanasius, *adv. gent.* c. 25; Tertullian *Apol.* c. 9; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* iv. 16, p. 156, a; *Scorpiace* c. 7; Prudentius *adv. Symmach.* ii. 296, sq.; Augustine *de C. D.* vii. 19. Comp. Magee on the *Atonement*, Vol. i. p. 96, *foll.* Saturn is identified with Moloch, the god of the Ammonites, *Levitic.* xviii. 21; 1 *Kings* xi. 5; *Psalm* cvi. v. 37; *Jeremiah* vii. 31. See Selden, *de dis Syris syntagma.* c. xvii.

[10] *flebilis*, i. e. quæ flet. The ancients considered it a bad omen for an unwilling victim to be sacrificed: Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 5, observatum est a sacrificantibus ut si hostia fuisset vehementius reluctata amoveretur, quia invito Deo eam afferri putabant; Plin. *N. H.* viii. 45; Lucan *Bell. Phars.* vii. 156; Tertullian *Apol.* c. ix.

[11] *Tauris.* The Tauri, who lived in the peninsula, called from them *Taurica Chersonesos* (now Crimea), on the Palus Mœotis, used to sacrifice shipwrecked strangers on the altar of Diana. On this custom, Euripides founded the tragedy of *Iphigenia in Tauris;* Ovid. *Trist.* iv. El. iv. 93; Pont. i. ii. 80; Juvenal, *Sat.* xv. 115; Lucret. i. 83; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 36, c. iii. § 42; Athenag. p. 29, c. xxiii; Origen, *l. c.;* Athanas. *c. Gent.* p. 21, quoted at length by Oehler on Tertullian *Apol.* c. ix. p. 145.

Busiridi. Apollod. ii. 5, § 11; Hygin. *fab.* 420; Valer. Flacc. *Argonaut.* ii. 301; Comp. Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 5:

illaudati Busiridis aras; unpraised.

Ovid, *A. A.* i. 647, foll.; *Metamorph.* ix. 293; Juvenal, *Sat.* xv. 123, sqq.

Mercurio: Tacitus, *de Mor. Germ.* c. x.; under the name of Teutates. Lactant. *D. I.* i. xxi. 3; Cæsar, *B. G.* vi. 16; *Annal.* i. 61; xiii. 57; Lucan, *Phars.* i. v. 444:

Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Esus.

Suetonius speaks of the abolition of

c. xxx. lare: et Mercurio [12]Gallos humanas vel inhumanas victimas cædere. [13]Romani Græcum et Græcam, Gallum et Gallam, sacrificia viventes obruere: hodieque ab ipsis [14]Latiaris Jupiter homicidio colitur: et quod Saturni filio dignum est, mali et noxii hominis sanguine saginatur. Ipsum credo docuisse sanguinis fœdere conjurare [15]Catilinam, et [16]Bellonam sacrum suum haustu humani cruoris im-

this cruelty by the emperor Claudius: *Vit. Claud.* § 25.

[12] *Gallos*, sc. ritus fuit. The construction is changed from dative to accusative.

Vel inhumanas, "or *rather* inhuman." So *vel* is used for *vel potius* in Cicero *de amicit.* c. 12: *Epist. Fam.* iv. 13 *extr.*

[13] *Romani Græcum et Græcam.* For the allusion see Liv. xxii. 57, 6: Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta, inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca in foro boario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conseptum; ibi ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum: Plutarch, *Marcell. vit.* p. 299; *Quæst. Rom.* p. 283.

Sacrificia. Sacrificii, the MS. reading, is explained by Davies to be in the genitive after *causa* or *concilio* understood. The other readings proposed are *sacrifici*, i. e. "priests:" *sacrificiis*, i. q. in sacrificiis: J. Gronovius, *sacri vice.*

[14] *Latiaris Jupiter.* See note on ch. xxi. § 15. Comp. Lactant. i. 21; Prudentius, *adv. Symm.* i. 397; *Hodieque*, 'even to the present day.'

Saginatur, "is fattened." The word occurs above, ch. xxvii. 3.

[15] *Catilinam.* Vide Sallust c. xxii. with Merivale's note; Tertullian, *l. c.*

[16] *Bellonam.* The votaries of Bellona ran up and down, lancing their arms with sharp knives (like the priests of Baal, 1 Kings xviii. 28) on the 23rd and 24th of March. See above ch. xxiv. § 6; Lactant, *D. I.* i. 21; Tibullus, *Eleg.* i. 6; Juv. *Sat.* vi. 512; iv. 124; Horace, *Sat.* ii. 2. 223; Martial xii. 57, 11. *Sacrum* is explained by some to be equivalent to "sacrificium," by others to be put for "sacratum," in the sense of "devotee," as in *Æn.* iv. 484. Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 9: hodie istic Bellonæ sacratos sanguis de femore procisso parmula exceptus et suis datus signat. Item illi, qui munere in arena noxiorum jugulatorum sanguinem recentem, avida siti comitiali morbo medentes hauserunt, ubi sunt? Celsus, *de Med.* iii. 23, says: quidam jugulati gladiatoris sanguine epoto tali morbo sese liberarunt. Aretæus Cappadox, *de morb. d. cur.* i. p. 312, *ed. Kühn.* says with better judgment, that no one can affirm it to be an effectual remedy: [ἐθεασάμην ἀνθρώπου γε νεοσφαγέος ὑποθέντας φιάλην τῷ τρώματι καὶ ἀρυσαμένους τοῦ αἵματος πίνοντας· ὦ τῆς παρεούσης μεγάλης ἀνάγκης,! ἀλλὰ τλῆναι κακὸν ἀκέσασθαι μιάσματι

buere, et comitialem morbum hominis sanguine, C. XXX.
6 id est morbo graviore, sanare. Non dissimiles et
qui de arena feras devorant illitas et infectas
cruore, vel membris hominis et [17]viscere saginatas.
7 [18]Nobis homicidium nec videre fas nec audire: tantumque ab humano sanguine cavemus, [19]ut nec edulium pecorum in cibis sanguinem noverimus.

[1]Et de incesto convivio fabulam grandem adver- C. XXXI.

κακῷ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑγίεες ἐκ τούτου ἐγένοντο, ἀτρεκὲς οὐδεὶς ἔχει μοι λέγειν.] Pliny, *N. H.* xxviii. 11, § 2, mentions this strange and empirical remedy for the *morbus caducus*, (i. e. epilepsy) in terms of generous abhorrence. HAILES.

[17] *viscere saginatas.* See Salvian. *de Provid.* vi. p. 121; Apulej. *Met.* iv. p. 58; and comp. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. ix: ubi sunt item illi qui de arena ferinis obsoniis cœnant? qui de apro, qui de cervo petunt? Aper ille quem cruentavit colluctando detersit: cervus ille in gladiatoris sanguine jactavit. Ipsorum ursorum alvei appetuntur cruditantes adhuc de visceribus humanis: Apulej. *Met.* iv. 4.

[18] *nobis homicidium nec videre fas etc.* Athenagoras *suppl. pro Christ.* p. 38: οὓς γὰρ ἴσασιν οὐδ' ἰδεῖν καὶ δικαίως φονευόμενον ὑπομένοντας, τούτων τίς ἂν κατείποι ἢ ἀνθρωποφονίαν ἢ ἀνθρωποφαγίαν; Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* Lib. iii. § 5, p. 178: σκόπει εἰ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα μανθάνοντες δύνανται ἀδιαφόρως ζῆν, ὅπου γε καὶ τὰς θέας τῶν μονομάχων ἡμῖν ἀπείρηται ὁρᾶν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωνοὶ καὶ συνίστορες φόνων γενώμεθα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς λοιπὰς θεωρίας ὁρᾶν χρὴ, ἵνα μὴ μολύνωνται ἡμῖν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ τὰ ὦτα γιγνόμενα ξυμμέτοχα τῶν ἐκεῖ φωνῶν ἀδομένων: Tertullian, *de Spectac.* cc. xix, xx.

Audire, h. e. tragœdiis interesse.

[19] *ut nec edulium pecorum sanguinem noverimus*, "that we do not even taste the blood of animals that are provided for our sustenance." The use of blood, as food, is spoken of as interdicted to Christians in all churches, from the earliest to the latest times. *Ep. Lugd. et Vienn.* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1; Clem. *Pædag.* ii. 1: iii. 3, *ed. Potter:* Tertullian, *Apol.* ix; Origen, *c. Cels.* viii. 30, p. 763; Cyril, *Julian.* iv. 28; with other passages quoted by Oehler on Tertullian, c. 9, p. 149, and in the Oxford Translation, Vol. i. p. 107, *foll.* Acts xvii.

Ch. XXXI. [1] *et de incesto convivio etc.*, "and as for the story of our incestuous banquet, it is a gross untruth, which the same dæmons have artfully invented against us in order to sully our character for chastity by raising counter reports to our disgrace so as to scare men from us, before ever they have examined into the truth, by frightening them with horrible fancies about us."

By *aversione infamiæ* I understand, "the turning men's attention away with their calumnies." Le

C. XXXI. sum nos dæmonum coitio mentita est, ut gloriam pudicitiæ deformis infamiæ aversione macularet: ut ante exploratam veritatem homines a nobis terrore infandæ opinionis, averteret. Sic de isto et [2]tuus Fronto, non ut affirmator testimonium fecit, sed convicium ut orator, aspersit. Hæc enim po- 2
tius de vestris gentibus nata sunt. [3]Jus est apud Persas misceri cum matribus: [4]Ægyptiis et Athenis cum sororibus legitima connubia: [5]memoriæ et tragœdiæ vestræ incestis gloriantur, quas vos libenter et legitis et auditis: sic et deos colitis incestos, [6]cum matre, cum filia, cum sorore conjunctos. [7]Me- 3

The story of our incestuous banquet is a foul plot on the part of the dæmons to mar our character for chastity, and scare away our adversaries from us at once, without allowing them due time for enquiry: even if it were true, it is no more than what is justified by your own shameless practices.

Nourry takes it to be a legal term explained by Forcellini, Lexicon, *s. v.*: most editors have adopted Wouwer's emendation *adspersione.*

[2] *tuus Fronto* may mean either "your countryman," or "the author whom you appeal to." See ch. ix. § 8, *note;* and Introduction § 2.

[3] *jus est apud Persas etc.* Tertullian, *Apol.* c. ix; Tatian, *or. ad Gr.* § 28, p. 164; Clem. *Recogn.* ix. 20; Diog. Laert. ix. § 83; Lucian, *de Sacrif.* Tom. i. p. 530, 5; Origen, *c. Cels.* v. p. 248; Theodoret, *de legg.* ix. p. 614.

[4] *Ægyptiis et Athenis, etc.* "with the Egyptians and at Athens," &c. The former allowed marriages between uterine brothers and sisters. See Diodor. Sic. i. c. 27, who traces the origin of the custom to the example of Isis. Pausan. *Attic.* vii; Philo, *de Special. leg.* p. 533; the latter only with ὁμοπάτριοι. See Corn. Nepos *Vit. Cimon.* cap. 1: Athenæus *Deipnosoph.* xiii. p. 589; Muretus *V. L.* vii. i.

[5] *memoriæ,* "memoirs." See ch. vii. *note* 2; and Tertullian, ch. xviii. with Woodham's note.

[6] *cum matre.* Jupiter is reported to have had children by his mother Rhea, his sister Juno, and his daughter Kore. Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* c. ii. § 16: Δηοῦς δὲ μυστήρια καὶ Διὸς πρὸς μητέρα Δήμητραν ἀφροδίσιοι συμπλοκαί: and, μίγνυται δ' αὖθις ὁ γεννήσας οὑτοσὶ Ζεὺς τῇ Φερσεφάττῃ τῇ ἰδίᾳ θυγατρὶ...δράκων γενόμενος: Athenagoras, *suppl. pro Chr.* cap. xxvii: χρῆν δ' αὐτοὺς...ἐὸν Διὰ μεμισηκέναι ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Ῥέας, θυγατρὸς δὲ Κόρης πεπαιδοποιημένον: also ch. xx; Tatian *or. ad Gr.* cc. 8, 10, *ed. Otto*; Arnobius *adv. gent.* Lib. v. c. 21; see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* i. 586, sqq.

[7] *merito,* "no wonder that," "not without reason." Comp. ch. i. *note* 3; ch. xxx. *note* 5.

[8] *passim,* "indiscriminately:" see ch. v. § 11, *note.* The expression *alienæ misericordiæ exponere* was the current one (Lactant. *D. I.* vi. xx. 21, 22; Tertullian, *ad Nat.* i.

rito igitur incestum penes vos sæpe deprehenditur, c. xxxi.
semper admittitur: etiam nescientes miseri potestis
in illicita proruere, dum Venerem promiscè spar-
gitis, dum [8]passim liberos seritis, dum etiam domi
natos alienæ misericordiæ frequenter exponitis:
necesse est in vestros recurrere, [9]in filios inerrare.
4 [10]Sic incesti fabulam nectitis, etiam quum conscien-
tiam non habetis.

5 At nos pudorem [11]non facie, sed mente præ- But our pretensions to temperance and modesty are genuine and unaffected.
stamus: [12]unius matrimonii vinculo libenter inhære-
mus; [13]cupiditate procreandi aut unam scimus aut
6 nullam. Convivia non tantum pudica colimus, sed

c. 16) for a custom, the allusions to which are plentiful in classical authors.

[9] *in filios inerrare,* "to fall foul upon (i. e. incur the danger of carnal intercourse with) your own children." Comp. ch. xxxvii. § 3, *errasset in regem:* and on the subject of the passage see Tertullian, *Apol.* c. ix; Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* Lib. iii. c. iii. p. 265 *ed. Potter;* Justin M. *Apolog.* i. c. 27, p. 71; Lactant. *Inst. Div.* vi. 20. The use of *filii* as applied to both sexes has a parallel in that of *fratres, dii;* Hildebr. ad Apulej. *Metam.* ii. c. 7. T. i. p. 88: Arnobius iv. 16, speaking of the birth of Minerva, says "ex capite conceptos *filios* procreat."

[10] *sic incesti fabulam nectitis.* The allusion and meaning are well given in Lord Hailes' translation: "thus unwittingly incestuous you repeat the tragical story of Œdipus."

[11] *non facie,* i. e. *non* solum *facie, sed et mente præstamus,* or perhaps, "not outwardly, but inwardly."

[12] *unius matrimonii vinculo libenter inhæremus.* The early Christians, apparently from a misinterpretation put on certain passages in Holy Writ, (Matth. v. 32; xix. 5; 1 Cor. vii. 8, foll.) condemned second marriages. Athenagoras, p. 37, c. xxviii. calls such marriages εὐπρεπῆ μοιχείαν: Justin M. *Apol.* i. 15: οἱ νόμῳ ἀνθρωπίνῳ διγαμίας ποιούμενοι ἁμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ διδασκάλῳ εἰσί, where however see the remarks in Otto's edition p. 38, concerning the sense in which διγαμία was understood. Tertullian also reprehends the practice in equally strong language: he calls it *adulterium; dedecus voluptuosum; confusionem.* See the Treatise *de Monog.,* Cotelerius on the *Shepherd* of Hermas, ii. *Mand.* iv. § 4: and on the question of ordination in connection with this, consult note N. p. 419 in Vol. i. of the Oxford Translation of Tertullian. The qualifying adverb *libenter* makes it at least doubtful whether Minucius held the same decided opinion.

[13] *cupiditate procreandi etc.*

C. XXXI. et sobria; nec enim indulgemus epulis aut convivium mero ducimus, sed gravitate hilaritatem temperamus. Casto sermone, corpore castiore, plerique [14]inviolati corporis virginitate perpetua fruuntur potius, quam gloriantur. Tantum denique abest incesti cupido, ut nonnullis rubori sit etiam pudica conjunctio.

Again, our disregard of your temporal honours does not put us on a level with the lowest rabble: nor is our exclusiveness or enmity to the state to be

[15]Nec de ultima statim plebe consistimus, si honores vestros et purpuras recusamus: nec [16]fastidiosi sumus, si omnes unum bonum sapimus, eadem congregati quiete qua singuli: nec [17]in angulis garruli, si audire nos publice aut erubescitis aut timetis. 7

"when we have a desire to increase and multiply, we know either one wife or else none at all." Tacitus records that of the Germans, "sic unum accipiunt maritum, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, nec tanquam maritum sed tanquam matrimonium ament:" *German.* c. xix: Comp. Justin M. *Apol.* i. c. 29: ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐγαμοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ παίδων ἀνατροφῇ ἢ παραιτούμενοι τὸ γήμασθαι τέλεον ἐνεγκρατευόμεθα: Athenag. *suppl. pro Chr.* c. xxviii: ὡς ὁ γεωργὸς καταβάλλων εἰς γῆν τὰ σπέρματα ἄμητον περιμένει οὐκ ἐπισπείρων, καὶ ἡμῖν μέτρον ἐπιθυμίας ἡ παιδοποιΐα: cap. xxxiii: γυναῖκα μὲν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἣν ἠγάγετο κατὰ τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῶν τεθειμένους νόμους νομίζων καὶ ταύτην μέχρι τοῦ παιδοποιήσασθαι: Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* ii. 10, § 95: γάμος ἡ παιδοποιΐας ὄρεξις.

[14] *inviolati corporis virginitate perpetua.* Athenag. *suppl. pro Chr.* c. xxviii. p. 37: εὕροις δ' ἂν πολλοὺς τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καταγηράσκοντας ἀγάμους ἐλπίδι τοῦ μᾶλλον συνέσεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ: Justin M. *Apol.* i. c. 18; Tertullian, *Apol.* c. ix; Origen, *c. Cels.* i. p. 26; iii. p. 364.

[15] *nec ... statim,* i. q. nec ideo, "it does not *necessarily* or *without exception* follow that"; in which sense *non continuo* is a more classical expression. Hand, *Tursellin.* Vol. II. p. 106.

De ultima plebe. In allusion to the cavil of Cæcilius, ch. viii. § 4.

[16] *fastidiosi,* "exclusive." Most editors have deserted the MS. reading for that proposed by Heraldus, viz. *factiosi,* on the supposition that an answer is intended to be given to Cæcilius' objection against the Christians, of their organising secret cabals, ch. viii. 3, 4: but without sufficient ground, because the answer to that accusation, as Le Nourry remarks, may be contained in the words *unum bonum sapimus,* or in *eadem congregati quiete, qua singuli.*

Unum bonum sapimus. Here again the editors have, after Ursinus, enclosed *bonum* in brackets; sup-

8 Et quod in dies [18]nostri numerus augetur, non est crimen erroris, sed testimonium laudis; nam in pulchro genere vivendi et perstat et persevērat 9 suus et accrescit alienus. Sic nos denique [19]non notaculo corporis, ut putatis, sed innocentiæ ac modestiæ signo facile dignoscimus: sic mutuo, quod doletis, amore diligimus, quoniam odisse non novimus: sic nos, quod invidetis, FRATRES vocamus, ut unius Dei parentis homines, ut consortes fidei, 10 ut spei coheredes. Vos enim nec invicem agnoscitis et in mutua odia sævitis, [20]nec fratres vos, nisi sane ad parricidium recognoscitis.

C. XXXI.

inferred from our having a common bond of union: but we are a simple, inoffensive congregation, who meet together secretly not for the purposes you impute to us, but because refused a public hearing. The daily *recruitment of our ranks* is a credit to us: and our '*brotherhood*' is the token of our joint hope and profession, as having one Father, even GOD.

posing that the expression *unum sapimus* is a version of St Paul's τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖτε. *Rom.* xv. 5; *Philip.* ii. 2.

[17] *in angulis garruli.* [Refutare vult, quod vituperaverat Cæcilius cap. viii. ubi vocavit eos *in publicum mutos, in angulis garrulos:* ita nunc rursus angulos iterat, sed Gallica versio hos angulos nullos agnoscit vel expressit: sed illic "qui ne disent "rien en public, et ne cessent de par- "ler, quand ils sont ensemble:" nunc quoque paraphrasin densam profert: "puisque nous sommes appel- "lez à de mesmes espérances, et que "nous avons obtenu la paix par un "mesme moyen. Pour ne pouvoir "aussi nous entretenir, qu'en parti- "culier, il ne s'ensuit pas que nous "n'osions dire mot en public. C'est "vous qui estes cause de ce silence, "ayant etc." Ubi est in his Minucius Felix? *Angulos* intelligere potest vel platearum, ut tanquam sophistæ circumforanei magna jactatione facundiæ venditemus ea quæ obtinere nos lætamur; sive templorum, ut quemadmodum in eos ex consortiis adsuevimus sevocare quibuscum aliquid sine arbitratu aliorum communicare volumus; ita manifeste nunc explicet *seductos Divos*, quos vocat Persius in Satira ii. [v. 4], ut Octavius perstringat Cæcilium spectantem Christianos ut gentilium vulgus in templis quasi sevocarent Deos ab media turba colentis vel sede sua in angulos, ut votis paciscerentur. J. GR.]

[18] *nostri numerus.* So ch. xxvii. § 2. *in perditionem sui:* ch. xxxii. 2. *in usum mei:* ch. xxxiv. 12. *solatium nostri.*

[19] *non notaculo.* See ch. ix. § 2. The meaning probably is, "not merely," or "not so much." (Comp. above, note 11, § 5). "Minucius could not mean to assert, contrary to the observation and knowledge of every one, that the Christians did not *cross* or *sign* themselves." HAILES. See Tertullian, *de Corona mil.* c. iv; *de Spectac.* c. xxiv, with Oehler's note; Hieronym. *Ep.* xviii. *ad Eustoch.*; *Ep.* xcvii. *ad Demetrian.* p. 790.

[20] *nec fratres vos nisi sane ad*

C. XXXII. Putatis autem nos occultare quod colimus, si [1]delubra et aras non habemus? quod enim simulacrum Deo fingam, quum, si recte existimes, sit [2]Dei homo ipse simulacrum? templum quod ei extruam, quum totus hic mundus ejus opere fabricatus, eum capere non possit? et [3]quum homo latius maneam, intrà unam [4]ædiculam vim tantæ majestatis includam? nonne melius [5]in nostra 2

You argue that "because we have no altars and shrines, we conceal the object of our worship." As though man himself were not GOD's image, as though his soul were not fittest temple for Him,

parricidium recognoscitis. Lord Hailes supposes that this relates to some incident at Rome, which was familiar to the speakers in this dialogue, though unknown to us. He conjectures that "the author alludes "although with much caution to the "speech of the emperor Caracalla "to the Roman senate, immediately "after the murder of his brother "Geta, [A.D. 211]. Dion Cassius says "in general, that the emperor made "a short speech to the senate, lxxvi; "but Spartian, *Hist. Aug. script.* p. "86, has preserved the substance and, "probably, some of the words of that "speech. '*Tunc sub veste senatoria "loricam habens, cum armatis "militibus curiam ingressus est. "Hos in medio inter subsellia "duplici ordine collocavit et "sic verba fecit. Questus est de "fratris insidiis involute et incon- "dite ad illius accusationem, sui "vero excusationem; quod quidem "nec senatus libenter accepit, "quum ille dixisset fratri se om- "nia permisisse, fratrem ab insidiis "liberasse: et illum tamen sibi gra- "vissimas insidias fecisse, nec vicem "amori reddidisse fraterno.*' The "nauseous repetition of the word "*frater* and *fraternus* on such an "occasion may possibly be alluded to "in the phrase *nec fratres vos, nisi "sane ad parricidia recognoscitis.*" Comp. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxxix.

Ch. XXXII. [1] *delubra et aras.* See ch. x. § 2.

[2] *Dei homo ipse simulacrum.* Comp. 2 *Corinth.* vi. 16; Lactant. *D. I.* ii. 2. 16; S. Ambrose on *Psalm* xviii. *Serm.* x. § 25. Clemens Alex. *Stromm.* Lib. vii. c. 5: Suicer *Thesaur. Eccl.* s. v. ἄγαλμα. II. 2. The student may find it worth his while to read the observations of the Oxford Translator of Tertullian, (Vol. I. p. 109, note B) on the principles of the early Christians in regard to Image-worship, in answer to the arguments of Romanists.

[3] *quum homo latius maneam,* "whereas I, a mere mortal being, have a more spacious dwelling." Cyprian, *de Id. van.* v. 6, has copied the language as well as the sentiment. From this use of *manere* for *habitare,* is derived indirectly our word "mansion." Comp. that of μένειν, *John* i. 38; *Matthew* x. 11.

[4] *ædiculam,* properly, "a shrine or chapel, representing the form of a temple, and containing the image of a god," especially the Lares, called also *lararium:* see Ramsay on Tibullus, i. 1, p. 136; Juv. *Sat.* viii. v. 111; Cic. *pro domo,* c. xxix.

dedicandus est mente? in nostro imo consecrandus est pectore? Hostias et victimas Deo offeram, quas in usum mei protulit, ut [6]rejiciam ei suum munus? ingratum est: quum sit [7]litabilis hostia bonus animus et pura mens et sincera sententia. 3 Igitur qui innocentiam colit, Domino supplicat, qui justitiam, Deo libat: qui fraudibus abstinet, propitiat Deum: qui hominem periculo subripit,

C. XXXII.

whose majesty the very universe cannot contain, much less any fabric of wood and stone: in whose sight the most acceptable sacrifices are a good disposition, and a clean conscience.

Here it is used simply as a diminutive of *ædes*, "a narrow apartment," (see note on ch. x. 4, and add to the passages there given, Pindar *Pyth.* iv. v. 5, with Dissen's note), to represent more strongly the unworthiness of such a place to circumscribe the majesty of God. Arnobius calls such chapels in characteristic language *tuguriola, conclavia, cellulæ*.

[5] *in nostra dedicandus est mente.* These sentiments are repeated by Origen, *c. Cels.* Lib. viii. p. 389: *βωμοὶ μέν εἰσιν ἡμῖν τὸ ἑκάστου τῶν δικαίων ἡγεμονικόν, ἀφ' οὗ ἀναπέμπεται ἀληθῶς καὶ νοητῶς εὐώδη θυμιάματα, προσευχαὶ ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως καθαρᾶς. In nostro imo pectore,* "in our inmost heart of hearts." Seneca has the same expression ap. Lactant. *de vero cultu*, c. 25, § 3.

[6] *rejiciam:* emphatic, "am I to fling back ungratefully to him?"

Deo. The MS. has *do:* which may stand for either *Deo* or *Domino*.

[7] *litabilis hostia bonus animus*, i. e. qua Deus placari potest. [Prudentius contra *Symmach.* II. 841:

Justitiamque litant et templum pectoris ornant.

J. GR.]

The sentiment is borrowed from *Psalm* iv. 5: li. 17—19. Comp. 1 *Sam.* xv. 22; Tertullian *ad Scapul.* c. 11; Euseb. *Dem. Ev.* I. 10; Lact. *D. I.* vi. § 4; Athenag. *Suppl.* c. xii. p. 13; Justin M. *Apol.* ii. p. 45; Clem. Alex. *Stromm.* vii. c. 5. § 29: *τὸ γὰρ περὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ζῷον τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἀξίῳ μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδένος ἀνταξίῳ, δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἁγιότητος καθιέρωται. εἴη δ' ἂν οὗτος ὁ γνωστικὸς ὁ πολλοῦ ἄξιος ὁ τίμιος τῷ θεῷ, ἐν ᾧ ὁ θεὸς ἐνίδρυται, τούτεστιν ἡ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ γνῶσις καθιέρωται. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ ἀπεικόνισμα εὕροιμεν ἂν, τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἅγιον ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ δικαίᾳ ψυχῇ, οἵταν μακάρια μὲν αὐτὴ τυγχάνῃ ἅτε προκεκαθαρμένη μακάρια δὲ διαπραττομένη ἔργα;* Porphyr. *de Abst. Anim.* ii. 36: Cicero *de N. D.*

It is made use of by the Chevalier Bunsen in his remarkable dissertation to shew the true Nature of the Christian Sacrifice. See the *Hippolytus and his age*, Vol. iv. p. 129; also Vol. ii. p. 200, *foll.*, and Appendix A. 1, p. 263, where will be found other passages from Justin Martyr to Augustine, quoted by the learned author in illustration of the same views.

C. XXXII. [8]optimam victimam cædit. Hæc nostra sacrificia, hæc Dei sacra sunt: sic apud nos religiosior est ille qui justior.

Our inability to see God with our fleshly eyes does not imply His non-existence. We are sensible of His existence from the works of His hands. If other things defy our vision, such as the *Wind*, the *Sun*, the *Soul* of Man, can you wonder that the supreme Creator of these is himself not an object of sense?

[9]At enim quem colimus Deum nec ostendimus 4
nec videmus. Immo ex hoc Deum credimus, quod eum sentire possumus, videre non possumus: [10]in operibus enim ejus et in mundi omnibus motibus virtutem ejus semper præsentem adspicimus: quum tonat, fulgurat, fulminat, quum serenat. Nec 5
mireris, si Deum non vides: vento et flatibus omnia impelluntur, vibrantur, agitantur, et [11]sub oculis tamen non venit ventus et flatus. [12]In sole adeo, qui videndi omnibus causa est, videre non possumus: radiis acies submovetur, obtutus intuentis hebetatur, et si diutius inspicias, omnis visus extinguitur. Quid? ipsum solis artificem, illum 6
luminis fontem possis sustinere, quum te ab ejus fulgoribus avertas, a fulminibus abscondas? Deum

[8] *optimam victimam.* Festus, p. 308: II. optatam hostiam alii optimam appellant eam, quam ædilis tribus constitutis hostiis optat, quam immolari velit. Alii *opimam.*

[9] *at enim.* See ch. x. § 5.

[10] *in operibus ejus etc.* Comp. Pope's *Essay on Man, Epist.* i. 9:

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is, and God the soul;
That changed through all, and yet in all the same;
Great in the earth as in the ethereal frame,
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,
Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent, &c.

[11] *sub oculis tamen non venit ventus.* Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* Lib. VII. cap. ix. § 2, has borrowed from our author: ne quis ex eo ipso putaret Deum non esse, quia mortalibus oculis non videretur, inter cetera institutorum miracula fecit etiam multa, quorum vis quidem apparet, substantia tamen non videtur, sicut est vox, odor, ventus, ut harum rerum argumento et exemplo etiam Deum, licet sub oculos non veniret, de sua tamen vi et effectu et operibus cerneremus: Comp. *S. John* iii. 8.

[12] *in sole adeo videre non possumus*, "in the full light of sun, moreover, we are unable to see." Comp. Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* I. § 5, p. 13: εἰ γὰρ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐλαχίστῳ

oculis carnalibus vis videre, quum ipsam animam tuam, qua vivificaris et loqueris, nec aspicere possis [13]nec tenere. C. XXXII.

7 [14]Sed enim Deus actum hominis ignorat, et in cœlo constitutus non potest aut omnes obire aut singulos nosse. Erras o homo et falleris; unde enim Deus longe est, quum omnia cœlestia terrenaque et quæ extra istam orbis provinciam sunt, Deo cognita, plena sint? ubique non tantum nobis 8 proximus sed infusus est. In solem adeo rursus intende: cœlo adfixus, sed terris omnibus sparsus est: pariter præsens ubique interest et miscetur 9 omnibus: nusquam enim claritudo violatur. Quanto magis Deus auctor omnium ac [15]speculator omnium, a quo nullum potest esse secretum, tenebris interest, [16]interest cogitationibus nostris, quasi alteris tenebris? Non tantum sub illo agimus, sed et [17]cum illo, prope dixerim, vivimus.

You deny God's cognisance of our actions: because you think it an impossibility that, placed in heaven, he should know all and everything. But God diffuses his presence over all things, just as the Sun, though itself stationary, diffuses its light over all the earth: neither distance nor secrecy can place anything out of the reach of His power and knowledge.

ὄντι στοιχείῳ οὐ δύναται ἄνθρωπος ἀτενίσαι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν θέρμην καὶ δύναμιν, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ δόξῃ ἀνεκφράστῳ οὔσῃ ἄνθρωπος θνητὸς οὐ δύναται ἀντωπῆσαι κ.τ.λ. Xenophon, *Memorab.* Lib. iv. c. x. has a parallel passage. Comp. also Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* I. 22.

Speculator adstat desuper
Qui nos diebus omnibus
Actusque nostros prospicit
A luce prima in vesperum.

CELLARIUS.

[13] *nec tenere,* [sc. manu. J. GR.]

[14] *sed enim Deus actum hominis ignorat.* See ch. x. § 6.

Unde enim Deus longe est etc. Cf. *Acts* xvii. 28: τὸν Κύριον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου ἡμῶν ὑπάρχοντα· *Ps.* xciii. 11; *Jerem.* xxiii. 23.

[15] *speculator omnium.* Ut Prudentius *hymno matutino* sub finem:

Cf. Lactantius, Lib. VI. cap. xviii. § 12: sed et maximus et æquissimus judex, speculator ac testis omnium.

[16] *interest cogitationibus.* Comp. Senec. *Epist.* lxxxiv. *Psalm* xxxiii. 13, 14, cxxxix. 1—12; *Hebr.* iv. 13: οὐκ ἔστι κτίσις ἀφανὴς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, πάντα δὲ γυμνὰ καὶ τετραχηλισμένα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ: Athenag. *Suppl. pro Chr.* p. 39.

[17] *cum illo vivimus. Acts* xvii. 28: ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν.

XXXIII. Nec nobis [1]de nostra frequentia blandiamur: multi nobis videmur, sed Deo admodum pauci sumus. Nos gentes nationesque distinguimus: [2]Deo una domus est mundus hic totus. [3]Reges 2
tantum regni sui per officia ministrorum universa novere: Deo [4]indiciis opus non est: non solum 3
in oculis ejus, sed et in sinu vivimus.

You appeal to the present condition of the Jews, as a sad comment on the inutility of serving one God. But your premises are disproved at once by their past history.

Sed Judæis nihil profuit, quod unum et ipsi Deum aris atque templis maxima superstitione coluerunt. Ignorantia laberis, [5]si priorum aut oblitus aut inscius posteriorum recordaris. Nam et ipsi 4
Deum nostrum (idem enim omnium Deus est) [6]quamdiu *enim* (eum) caste, innoxie religioseque coluerunt, quamdiu præceptis salubribus obtemperaverunt, de paucis innumeri facti, de egentibus divites, de servientibus reges: [7]modici multos, inermi

Ch. XXXIII. [1] *de nostra frequentia etc.* "let us not amuse ourselves with the fond hope of impunity because of our numbers." To wipe away the objection advanced in Ch. x. 5, 6, thus expressed by Juvenal, *Sat.* xiii. 101:

Si curant igitur cunctos punire nocentes
Quando ad me venient?

[2] *Deo una domus.* Lactantius has copied this in the *Instt. Div.* iv. 28. 8.

[3] *reges tantum universa regni etc.* "it is only earthly monarchs indeed that are acquainted with all that goes on in their dominions by the ministration of inferior officers." *Universa regni sui* for "res" or "loca regni sui universa."

[4] *indiciis*, i. q. indicibus: abstr. for concrete, cf. Lactantius *de Mortib. Persec.* c. viii. § 4.

[5] *si*, i. q. siquidem.

[6] *quamdiu enim eum.* Such is the reading of the MS. Most editors have cancelled both the latter words: though *eum* certainly cannot be objected to, since nothing is of more ordinary occurrence than such an insertion of this pronoun after a parenthesis. Lindner places a full stop after *Deus est*, making *Deum* depend on *colunt*, understood from the preceding *coluerunt*. For the argument, comp. Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. xxi.

[7] *modici multos ..... obruerunt*, "a handful overwhelmed multitudes, the unarmed an armed host, as they pursued them in their flight, the very elements at the command of God fighting on their side."

armatos, dum fugiunt insequentes, Dei jussu et elementis adnitentibus obruerunt. Scripta eorum relege, [8]vel si Romanis magis gaudes, ut transeamus veteres, Flavii Josephi vel Antonini Juliani de Judæis require: jam scies nequitia sua hanc eos meruisse fortunam; nec quidquam accidisse, quod non sit his, si in contumacia perseverarent, ante prædictum. Ita prius eos deseruisse comprehendes, quam esse desertos: nec, ut [9]impie loqueris, cum Deo suo esse captos, sed a Deo, ut disciplinæ transfugas, deditos. XXXIV.

Ceterum [1]de incendio mundi aut improvisum ignem cadere aut difficile non credere vulgaris erroris est. Quis enim sapientium dubitat, quis ignorat, omnia quæ orta sunt occidere; quæ facta sunt interire? cœlum quoque cum omnibus, Further, your disbelief in the future destruction of the Universe by fire is a mere vulgar error; not favoured or sanctioned but con-

See *Judges*, ch. vii; *Joshua*, ch. x. v. 11.

[8] *vel si Romanis magis gaudes Flavii Josephi.* "The MS. has *Flavi Josephi;* and it appears, that the words *Antonini Juliani* had been originally written, although they are effaced, and others substituted in their room, (sc. *Antonii Juliani*). It is difficult to account for the mention here made of Josephus as of a *Roman writer:* for he was a Jew and wrote in Greek. Davies ingeniously conjectures that *Antonini Juliani* were the original words; and that an ignorant and officious transcriber changed them into *Flavii Josephi*, as into a name better known. Lindnerus boldly transposes the words and reads, *Scripta eorum relege: ut transeamus veteres, vel* (i. e. tantum) *Flavii Josephi; vel, si Romanis magis gaudes, Antonini Juliani, de Judæis require.*" HAILES.

Antonini Juliani. Nothing is known of this writer or of his writings. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. med. et inf. ætat.* ix. p. 598, conjectures that he is the same with the governor (*procurator*) of Judæa, in the time of the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, and perhaps the orator of the same name spoken of by A. Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* i. 3.

[9] *impie loqueris*, in allusion to ch. x. § 4.

Ch. XXXIV. [1] *de incendio mundi etc.* The construction is: *Vulgaris erroris est credere improvisum ignem non cadere aut id esse difficile*, sc. Deo.

XXXIV. quæ cœlo continentur, ita [2]ut cœpisse, desinere. [3]Fontium dulci aquas marisve nutriri; in vim ignis abiturum, Stoicis constans opinio est, quod consumpto humore mundus hic omnis ignescat: et [4]Epicureis de elementorum conflagratione et mundi ruina eadem ipsa sententia est. [5]Loquitur Plato: 3 partes orbis nunc inundare dicit, nunc alternis vicibus ardescere et quum ipsum mundum perpetuum et insolubilem diceret esse fabricatum, addit tamen,

tradicted by the dogmas of your own philosophers, though they had only partial glimpses of the truth, which indeed they owed to our doctrines and scriptures.

[2] *ut cœpisse.* Cf. § 8, *note* 14.

[3] *Fontium dulci aquas marisve nutriri,* sc. cœlum [et aliquando] *in vim etc.* So Lindner. The MS. reading is *fontium dulcis aqua maria nutrire.* A nearer approximation to which may perhaps be made by reading: *desinere;* DESINERE *fontium dulces aquas maria nutrire. In vim ignis abiturum,* (sc. mundum). But I am inclined to look upon the whole sentence *fontium—nutrire,* as a gloss. For an explanation of the meaning the following extract from Cicero will serve: "Sunt stellæ natura flammeæ: quocirca terræ, maris, aquarum vaporibus aluntur iis, qui a sole ex agris tepefactis et ex aquis excitantur....Ex quo eventurum nostri (sc. Stoici) putant id, de quo Panætium addubitare dicebant; ut ad extremum omnis mundus ignesceret cum, humore consumpto, neque terra ali posset neque remearet aër, cujus ortus aqua omni exhausta esse non posset:" *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 46: and again: "Quid enim? non eisdem vobis placet omnem ignem pastus indigere? nec permanere ullo modo posse, nisi alatur? ali autem solem, lunam, reliqua astra aquis alia dulcibus, alia marinis?" *ibid.* Lib. iii. c. 14. Comp. Lucret. *de Rer. Nat.* i. 231. Zeno ap. *Diog. Laert.* vii. 1. 71, says: *τρέφεσθαι τὰ ἔμπυρα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα, τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ τῆς μεγαλῆς θαλάττης, τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐκ ποτίμων ὑδάτων.* Comp. Philo Judæ. *περὶ ἀφθαρσίας κόσμου,* p. 940: Origen *c. Cels.* v. p. 244: Athenagoras *Suppl. pro Christ.* cap. xv; Tatian, *or. ad Græc.* c. vi. and xxv; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii. c. 7; Arnobius, *adv. nat.* ii. 9.

[4] *Epicureis:* Lactantius, *de Vita Beata,* cap. i. § 10: Unus igitur Epicurus, auctore Democrito, veridicus in hac re fuit, qui ait et ortum aliquando fuisse et aliquando esse periturum: *ibid.* cap. iii. § 23. Comp. Lucret. Lib. v. 381, sqq.; Philo Judæus *περὶ ἀφθαρσίας κόσμου,* p. 728: *Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος πολλοὺς κόσμους ὑπογράφουσιν, ὧν τὴν μὲν γένεσιν ἀλληλοτυπίαις καὶ ἐπιπλοκαῖς ἀτόμων ἀνατιθέασι τὴν δὲ φθορὰν ἀντικοπαῖς καὶ ἀποστάσεσι τῶν γεγονότων.* Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* xv. 18.

Elementorum, h. e. "the principal parts of the universe," viz. the sun, moon, etc. Comp. Bünemann on Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* Lib. i. c. v. § 7.

[5] *loquitur Plato.* [An, *Est Epicureis de e. c. e. m. r. eadem ipsa sen-*

ipsi artifici Deo soli et solubilem et esse mor- XXXIV.
4 talem. Ita nihil mirum est, si ista moles [6]ab eo, quo extructa est, destruatur. Animadvertis philosophos eadem disputare, quæ dicimus, non quod nos simus eorum vestigia subsequuti, sed quod illi [7]de divinis prædicationibus prophetarum umbram interpolatæ veritatis imitati sint.

5 Sic etiam conditionem renascendi sapientium clariores, [8]Pythagoras primus et præcipuus

So again with respect to our doctrine of the Resurrec-

tentia et loquitur Plato. Partis etc. J. GR.] The allusion is to the *Timæus*, p. 41 *ed. Steph.*: comp. Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* ii. 36, Philo Judæus *l. c.* p. 950, who thus gives the passage, where the supreme God is represented as addressing the other gods: Θεοὶ θεῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων ἃ δι' ἐμοῦ γενόμενα ἄλυτα ἐμοῦ γ' ἐθέλοντος· τὸ μὲν οὖν δὴ δεθὲν πᾶν λυτόν· τό γε μὴν καλῶς ἁρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εὖ λύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ· δίο καὶ ἔπειπερ γεγένησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἐστε, οὐδ' ἄλυτοι τὸ πάμπαν· οὔτι γε μὴν λυθήσεσθέ γε οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου μοίρας τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως μείζονος ἔτι δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριωτέρου λαχόντες ἐκείνων, οἷς ὅτ' ἐγίγνεσθε συνεδεῖσθε. Comp. Athenagoras, *l. c.* who quotes the first part of the above passage: and Cicero *de Universo* who translates the whole.

Alternis vicibus: Clem. Alex. *Stromm.* v. p. 649, sqq.: ὁ δὲ Πλάτων τὴν γῆν χρόνοις τισὶ διὰ πυρὸς καθαίρεσθαι καὶ ὕδατος ὧδε πώς φησι· Πολλαὶ κατὰ πολλὰ φθοραὶ γεγόνασιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔσονται πυρὶ μὲν καὶ ὕδατι μέγισται, μυρίοις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις ἕτεραι βραχύτεραι· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα ἐπιφέρει. Τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς, ἔστι τῶν περὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἰόντων παράλλαξις καὶ διὰ μακρῶν χρόνων γινομένη τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πυρὶ πολλῷ φθορά· ἔπειτα περὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐπείσει· ὅταν δὲ αὖ θεοὶ γῆν ὕδασι καθαίροντες κατακλύζωσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διασώζονται βούκολοι νομεῖς· οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς παρ' ἡμῖν πόλεσιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν φέρονται.

[6] *ab eo, quo*, i. e. a quo.

[7] *de divinis prædicationibus etc.* This assertion is constantly reiterated: by Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. xlvii; *de Testim. Anim.* c. v. Comp. Justin M. *Coh. ad Gr.* 14 sqq.; *Apol.* i. 54; Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* i. 14, p. 32, *ed. Humphry*; Tatian *or. ad Gr.* c. 40; Clem. Alex. *Stromm.* i. 16, p. 336 *ed. Potter*; Augustin, *de Civ. Dei*, viii. 11; *de Doctr. Christ.* ii. c. 28; Theodoret, *or. c. Græc.* II. p. 736, sqq.

Interpolatæ, "botched with falsehood." Tertullian is fond of this expression. See Oehler on the *Apol.* ch. xlvi. p. 285.

[8] *Pythagoras primus.* The doctrine of metempsychosis or "transmigration of souls" is said to

XXXIV. [9]Plato, corrupta et [10]dimidiata fide tradiderunt; nam corporibus dissolutis, solas animas volunt et perpetuo manere et in alia nova corpora sæpius commeare. Addunt istis et illa [11]ad retorquendam veritatem, 6 in pecudes, aves, belluas, hominum animas redire. Non philosophi sane studio, sed mimico vitio digna ista sententia est. Sed ad propositum satis est, 7 etiam in hoc sapientes vestros [12]in aliquem modum nobiscum consonare. Ceterum quis tam stultus 8 aut brutus est, ut audeat [13]repugnare hominem a Deo, [14]ut primum potuisse fingi, ita posse denuo

tion of the Body, it is justified by their belief in the Transmigration of Souls. The same doctrine further proved by the

have been borrowed from the Egyptians, (Diodor. Sic. *Bibl.* I. p. 62; Herodotus ii. c. 123); and the Druids, according to Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* vi. c. 13, believed "non interire animas sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios." Comp. Origen *c. Celsum* I. p. 16; Tertullian *Apol.* c. xcviii; Ambrosius, *de Fid. Resurr.* ii. § 65; Maximus Tyrius *Dissert.* xxviii. Porphyrius and Maximus Tyrius, Davies observes, agree with Minucius in attributing the discovery of this doctrine to Pythagoras, but Cicero *Tusc. Q.* I. xvi. followed by Lactantius and Augustine, ascribe it to Pherecydes.

[9] *Plato.* There are several passages in the *Phædrus, Phædo* and *Timæus* which bear upon this question, besides that in the *Repub.* x. p. 620, *καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων δὴ θηρίων ὡσαύτως εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἰέναι καὶ εἰς ἄλληλα τὰ μὲν ἄδικα εἰς τὰ ἄγρια, τὰ δὲ δίκαια εἰς τὰ ἥμερα μεταβάλλοντα καὶ πάσας μίξεις μίγνυσθαι.*

[10] *dimidiata,* "by halves, defectively," sc. because they taught the resurrection of the soul only and not that of the body.

[11] *ad retorquendam veritatem,* "the more to *ravel,* or *wrest* and *pervert* the truth."

Mimico vitio. Ita MS. Heraldus conj. *mimi cavillo:* comp. Prudent. *Pass. S. Laur.* II. vs. 318; or *mimico otio:* comp. Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. xlviii: *mimi convicio,* WOWER.

[12] *in aliquem modum,* "up to a certain degree;" "after a certain fashion."

[13] *repugnare,* "to gainsay."

[14] *ut primum potuisse fingi etc.,* on the use of double infinitives see Hand, *Tursell.* iii. p. 472. The same argument is frequently urged by early Christian writers. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* vii. 23, § 5, says: Si a principio Deus hominem nescio quo inenarrabili modo instituit: credamus ab eodem restitui veterem posse qui novum fecit: comp. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xlviii: Qui ergo nihil fueras priusquam esses, idem nihil factus cum esse desieris, cur non possis rursus esse de nihilo, ejusdem auctoris voluntate qui te voluit esse de nihilo: *de Resurr. Carn.* c. xi: Idoneus est reficere (carnem), qui

reformari? [15]nihil esse post obitum et ante ortum nihil fuisse: sicut de nihilo nasci licuit, ita de 9 nihilo licere reparari? Porro difficilius est id quod non sit incipere, quam id quod fuerit iterare. Tu perire [16]et Deo credis, si quid oculis 10 nostris hebetibus subtrahitur? [17]Corpus omne sive arescit in pulverem, sive in humorem solvitur, vel in cinerem comprimitur, vel in nidorem tenuatur, subducitur nobis: sed Deo elementorum custodia 11 reservatur. [18]Nec, ut creditis, ullum damnum sepulturæ timemus, sed veterem et meliorem consue- XXXIV. Luke xx. 38.

fecit: quanto plus est fecisse, quam refecisse: initium dedisse, quam reddidisse. Ita restitutionem carnis faciliorem credas institutione. Justin M. *Apol.* i. § 19; Tatian, *or. c. Gr.* cap. vi; Theophilus *ad Autolyc.* i. 8; Athenag. *de Resurr.* c. 3 and 15; Prudent. *adv. Symmach.* ii. 194; *Constitut. Apost.* v. 7, § 43, p. 308.

[15] *nihil esse post obitum etc.* "that man is just such a nonentity after this life as he was before it." Dupin's (*Eccles. Hist.* i. p. 119) fancy that he can detect a tendency to materialism in our author arose from an obvious misapprehension of this passage. 'The *nihil*,' as Reeves remarks, 'is here used in the signification and upon the same subject as it is used by Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 48 (vide *not.* 14), and is to be understood according to the vulgar, who concluded nothing to exist, that was not visible.'

[16] *et Deo perire,* "is lost also to God." Comp. Athenagoras, *de Resurr.* cc. 2, 8, p. 43. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἀγνοεῖν τὸν Θεὸν δυνατὸν τῶν ἀναστησομένων σωμάτων τὴν φύσιν κατά τε μέρος ὅλον καὶ μόριον, οὔτε μὴν ὅποι χωρεῖ τῶν λυομένων ἕκαστον καὶ ποῖον τοῦ στοιχείου μέρος δέδεκται τὸ λυθὲν, καὶ χωρῆσαν πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς κἂν πάνυ παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἀδιάκριτον εἶναι δοκῇ, τὸ τῷ πάντι πάλιν προσφυῶς ἡνωμένον.

[17] *corpus omne,* "every part of the body." To the same purpose, Tatian, *or. c. Gr.* § 6, *ed. Otto,* in a characteristic passage: κἂν πῦρ ἐξαφανίσῃ μου τὸ σαρκίον, ἐξατμισθεῖσαν τὴν ὕλην ὁ κόσμος κεχώρηκεν· κἂν ἐν ποταμοῖς κἂν ἐν θαλάτταις ἐκδαπανηθῶ, κἂν ὑπὸ θηρίων διασπασθῶ, ταμείοις ἐναπόκειμαι πλουσίου δεσπότου.

In cinerem comprimitur, "is crumbled to ashes."

In nidorem tenuatur, "is rarefied into smoke."

[*Subducitur nobis,* nempe ut dicamus οὐκ εἶναι, Soph. *O. C.* 446, *Ajac.* 990. J. GR.]

[18] *nec damnum sepulturæ timemus,* "h. e. ex ignium sepultura:" vide ch. xi. 3. The care which the primitive Christians shewed to their dead is noticed by Julian the Apostate in writing to an idolatrous high

XXXIV. tudinem humandi frequentamus. Vide adeo, quam 12
analogies, which are scattered over the whole field of Nature.
in solatium nostri [19]resurrectionem futuram omnis natura meditetur? [20]Sol demergit et nascitur; astra labuntur et redeunt: flores occidunt et reviviscunt: post senium arbusta frondescunt, [21]semina non nisi corrupta revirescunt: [22]ita corpus in sæculo, ut arbores in hiberno occultant virorem ariditate mentita. Quid festinas, ut cruda adhuc 13
hieme reviviscat et redeat? expectandum nobis etiam corporis ver est.

Most men, from a consciousness of their deserts,
Nec ignoro, plerosque, conscientia meritorum 14
nihil se esse post mortem magis optare, quam cre-

priest: *Epist.* 49 *ad Arsac.* Comp. Lactant. *Div. Inst.* vi. 12. 27: Origen *c. Cels.* l. viii. p. 397: Augustine, *de C. D.* i. cc. 12, 13. On the antiquity of the practice of inhumation, see the testimony of Cicero, *de Legg.* ii. c. 25, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 54. The dictator Cornelius Sylla is said to have been the first among the Romans whose corpse was burnt: afterwards the practice prevailed very generally till the fourth century of the Christian era. Macrob. *Saturnal.* vii. 7, § 5.

[19] *resurrectionem futuram meditetur*, "gives preludes of, preludes to our future revival."

[20] *sol demergit ac nascitur.* The same emblem of a resurrection is frequently appealed to by the early Christian writers: as Theophilus *ad Autolyc.* i. c. 13; Athenag. *Legat.* p. 93; Ambrosius, *Hexaem.* Lib. v. c. 22 and c. 23; *de Fide Resurr.* Lib. ii. § 53; Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xcviii. and still more eloquently in his treatise *de Resurr. Carnis,* c. xii: also Prudentius *contr. Symm.* ii. p. 414: Augustine *de C. D.* xxii. 21; Pearson, *On the Creed,* Art. XI. p. 376.

[21] *semina nonnisi corrupta revirescunt.* 1 *Cor.* xv. 36: ἄφρον σὺ ὃ σπείρεις οὐ ζωοποιεῖται, ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ. Comp. also Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 48; *de Resurr. carnis,* c. xii; Clemens Rom. *Epist.* i. c. 24; Cyril iv. 30, xviii. 6, 7; Theophil. *ad Autol.* i. 8, 13, ii. c. 14.

[22] *ita corpus in sæculo etc.* "the body in this life is as trees in wintertime, *which* conceal their vegetation under an unreal appearance of withering." The sentence, which is elliptical, in full would be: *ut arbores in* tempore *hiberno occultant virorem ariditate mentita; ita corpus in sæculo* occultat vitam mortalitate mentita. On the various significations of *sæculum* some observations will be found in Woodham's *Tertullian,* p. 103, *note* 3.

[23] *malunt extingui etc.* Hierocles *in Pythag.* p. 164: οὐ βούλεται γὰρ ὁ κακὸς ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ἵνα μὴ ὑπομείνῃ τι-

dere; [23]malunt enim extingui penitus quam ad sup- XXXV.
plicia reparari. Quorum error augetur et in sæculo libertate remissa et Dei patientia maxima; cujus [24]quanto judicium tardum, tanto magis justum est. rather wish that death may be their annihilation, than believe that it is so really: and that too in spite of the warnings of philosophers and poets with respect to the penal tortures that await sinners.
1 Et tamen admonentur hominum doctissimorum libris et carminibus poetarum illius [1]ignei fluminis et [2]de Stygia palude sæpius ambientis ardoris, quæ cruciatibus æternis præparata, et dæmonum indiciis et [3]de oraculis prophetarum cognita, tradi-
2 derunt. Et ideo apud eos etiam ipse rex Jupiter per [4]torrentes ripas et atram voraginem jurat religiose: destinatam enim sibi cum suis cultoribus

μωρούμενος: Clemens, *Recognit.* Lib. v. fol. 95. ELMENHORST. Vide Scriptorem *Constit. Apost.* Lib. vi. cap. 26, et Clementem, *Homil.* xi. cap. xi. p. 694, DAVIES.

[24] *quanto tardum*, h. e. *quanto* magis *tardum*, an elliptic construction, more common in Greek than Latin. See Muncker *ad Fulgent. Mythol.* I. 27, p. 62; Oehler on Tertullian *Apol.* 48. Tertullian frequently uses *tanto* without the comparative in the corresponding clause. The same sentiment occurs in Valerius Maximus, speaking of Dionysius of Syracuse: Lento gradu ad vindictam sui divina procedit ira, tarditatemque supplicii gravitate compensat. I. i. § 23.

Ch. XXXV. [1] *ignei fluminis*, sc. Pyriphlegethon. Plato, *Phædo*, p. 112, quoted in Eusebius, *Prep. Evang.* c. 23; Hom. *Odyss.* x. 145; comp. Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* ii. 14.

[2] *de Stygia palude...ardoris*, "the heat of the Stygian lake." On this use of *de* consult note on ch. xxv. § 3: for the allusion, Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 478, sqq.; *Æn.* vi. 439:

novies Styx interfusa coercet.

[3] *de oraculis*, "out of the oracles." So above, ch. vii. § 3: *Specta de libris memoriam.* See Hand, *Tursellin.* Vol. II. p. 223. 2.

Dæmonum indiciis, "by the confessions of dæmons:" such as are recorded in the Books of the New Testament.

[4] *torrentes ripas*, hoc est, ardentes. Virgilius, *Æn.* ix. 104:

Dixerat: idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
Per pice *torrentes* atraque voragine *ripas* Annuit.

LINDNER.

Jurat religiose. Homer. *Il.* xiv. 271; *Odyss.* v. 185, sqq.:

καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος
ὅρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.

Comp. Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 323:

Stygiamque paludem,
Di cujus jurare timent et fallere numen.

c. xxxv. pœnam præscius perhorrescit. ✱ Nec tormentis aut modus ullus aut terminus. Illic [5]sapiens ignis mem- 3
bra urit et reficit; carpit et nutrit, sicut ignes fulminum corpora tangunt nec absumunt: sicut ignes [6]Ætnæ montis et Vesui montis et ardentium ubique terrarum [7]flagrant nec erogantur: ita pœnale illud incendium non damnis ardentium pascitur, sed [8]inexesa corporum laceratione nutritur. ✱ Eos 4
autem merito torqueri [9]qui Deum nesciunt, ut impios, ut injustos, nisi profanus nemo deliberat; quum parentem omnium et omnium dominum non minoris sceleris sit ignorare quam lædere. Et 5
quamquam imperitia Dei sufficiat ad pœnam, ita ut

Apart from your ignorance of God, which is in itself sinful and merits punishment accordingly, the estimate of moral excellence amongst you will be found on compa-

[5] *sapiens ignis*, "the subtle fire." Tertullian, *adv. Gnostic.* cap. iii. uses the same expression. Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* p. 35, speaks of πῦρ σωφρονοῦν. Comp. Hieronym. in *Daniel.* c. 3, pag. 503; Paulinus, *Ep. ad Sever.* ix, p. 62, quoted by Elmenhorst.

[6] MS. *Hennei montis et Iesui montis.* Pro *Hennei* recte *Ætnæ*, quoniam notante Drakenborch. ad *Sil.* i. 93 hæc in MS. permiscentur. *Iesui* forte pro *Vesevi* vel *Vesui* ut sæpe non apud poetas solum sed et alios, v. c. Sueton. *Tit.* 8. Gronovius conj. *Ætnæ montes et montis Vesevi* non male sicut v. 1. LINDNER.

Et ardentium ubique terrarum, "and of the *other* volcanic lands, wherever they be." Comp. above, ch. xiii. *note* 6.

[7] *Flagrant nec erogantur*, "burn, and yet are not exhausted with burning," comp. Tertull. *Apol.* c. xlviii. and xlix. On the various uses of *erogare* consult Woodham's note on Tertullian, *Apol.* p. 146.

[8] *inexesa corporum laceratione*, for inexesorum corporum laceratione. Comp. xvi. *note* 2: xxxvi. *note* 11.

[9] *qui Deum nesciunt*, sc. "the Gentiles," ch. xxxvii. § 6.

Deliberat, "hesitates to believe."

[10] *quamvis in nonnullis disciplina nostra minor est*, "however defective we are in some particulars of practice." HAILES. Rather, "however much in the case of some the strict observance of our school is found wanting." [Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 46 *fin.*: sed dicet aliquis etiam de nostris excedere quosdam a regula disciplinæ. Desinunt tamen Christiani haberi penes nos, philosophi vero illi cum talibus factis in nomine et honore sapientiæ perseverant. J. GR.] See also, *Apol.* c. xliv; Athenag. *Suppl.* § 2; Justin M. *Apol.* i. § 44.

[11] *et facitis*. See above, ch. xii. *note* 2.

[12] *viri nascimur etc.* "are born to be husbands to none but our own wives." Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 46: Christianus uxori suæ soli masculus

notitia prosit ad veniam; tamen si vobiscum Christiani comparemur, [10]quamvis in nonnullis disciplina nostra minor est, multo tamen vobis meliores de- XXXVI. risori to fall very far short of that which is formed by Christians.
6 prehendemur. Vos enim adulteria prohibetis [11]et facitis; nos uxoribus nostris solummodo [12]viri nascimur: vos scelera admissa punitis, [13]apud nos et cogitare peccare est: vos conscios timetis, nos etiam conscientiam solam, [14]sine qua esse non pos-
7 sumus. Denique de vestro numero [15]carcer exæstuat: Christianus ibi nullus, nisi aut reus suæ religionis aut [16]profugus.

[1]Nec de fato quisquam aut solatium captet aut excuset. [2]Eventum sit sortis fortunæ, mens The plea of *fatalism* for misdeeds re-

nascitur.

[13] *apud nos et cogitare pecccare est.* Non dissimilem sententiam tulerunt sapientiores Ethnici. Seneca *de Const. Sap.* cap. 7: Omnia scelera etiam ante effectum operis, quantum culpæ satis est, perfecta sunt. Juvenalis, *Sat.* xiii. v. 209:

Nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum
Facti crimen habet.

Maximus Tyrius, *Dissert.* ii. Immo legibus etiam Romanis non facti solum sed et voluntatis pœna luebatur. Adi Jac. Cujacium. *Observat.* Lib. xv. cap. 25. DAVIES.

[14] *sine qua esse non possumus.* Seneca ap. Lactant. *D. I.* vi. 24. 17: Quid tibi prodest non habere conscium, habenti conscientiam?

[15] *carcer exæstuat.* Tertullian, *ibid.* c. 44: de vestris semper æstuat carcer, de vestris semper metalla suspirant, de vestris semper bestiæ saginantur. Nemo illic Christianus nisi plane tantum Christianus aut, si et aliud, jam non Christianus: Id. *ad Scap.* c. 2; Lactant. v. 9, § 15. Cf. Kortholt *Pag. Obtr.* Lib. 3. c. 12, n. 7.

[16] *profugus*, "a renegade from his faith," for if guilty, that alone proves that he must have apostatised and relapsed into heathenism.

Ch. XXXVI. [1] *nec de fato solatium captet aut excuset*, sc. fatum, "and let no one snatch at comfort from destiny or plead it in excuse." Cæcilius, it will be remembered, made incidental mention of the doctrine of fate excluding divine providence, in ch. xi. § 6.

[2] *eventum sit sortis fortunæ. Sors fortunæ* genethliacorum verbum. Scaliger ad Manilii verba Lib. III. v. 75:

Horum operum sortes ad singula signa locavit,

ita adnotat: *In genitura primus locus datur horoscopo: in actionibus, sorti fortunæ, qui est veluti actionum quidam horoscopus.* CELLARIUS. On the doctrine of genethliacal fate, see Lord Herbert, *de Religione gentilium*, c. ix. p. 63.

XXXVI. tamen libera est: et ideo actus hominis, [3]non dignitas judicatur. [4]Quid enim aliud est fatum, 2
quam quod de unoquoque nostrum Deus fatus est? qui quum possit præscire [5]materiam, pro meritis et qualitatibus singulorum etiam fata determinat. Ita 3
in nobis non [6]genitura plectitur, sed ingenii natura punitur. Ac de fato satis, vel si pauca pro tempore, disputaturi alias et [7]verius et plenius.

served for a future discussion. Suffice it to say that it is a mere *word*, and that in reality we are free agents.

Ceterum quod plerique pauperes dicimur, non 4
est infamia nostra, sed gloria: animus enim ut luxu solvitur, ita frugalitate firmatur. Et tamen [8]quis 5
potest pauper esse, qui non eget, qui non inhiat alieno, qui Deo dives est? magis pauper ille est qui quum multa habeat, plura desiderat. Dicam tamen, quemadmodum sentio: [9]nemo tam pauper potest esse, quam natus est. Aves sine patrimonio

The poverty of most of us is our glory, not our shame. For we regard riches as an encumbrance in our earthly pilgrimage, and therefore despise rather than covet them.

[3] *non dignitas judicatur.* Non capio, quid huc faciat *dignitas.* Noster adversus astrologos disputat, qui pro variis Planetarum adspectibus et conjunctionibus fata nascentium definita fuisse statuerunt. Repono *non nativitas judicatur.* Paullo post: *in nobis non genitura plectitur, sed ingenii natura punitur.* Vide Petri Fabri *Semestr.* Lib. III. cap. 23. DAVIES.

[4] *quid enim aliud est fatum.* Isidor. *Orig.* Lib. viii. c. 2: fatum dicunt esse quod Dii fantur vel quod Jupiter fatur. Vid. Augustinus *de Civ. Dei,* Lib. v. cap. 9; ordinem causarum ubi voluntas Dei plurimum potest neque negamus neque fati vocabulo nuncupamus: nisi forte fatum ut a fando dictum intelligamus, id est a loquendo. ELMENHORST.

[5] *materiam,* "the particular temper." Quintilian has a similar usage of the word, *Inst. Orat.* ii. 9. 12.

[6] *genitura,* "the circumstances or ascendant of our nativity."

[7] *verius,* "more completely." See note on ch. xix, § 1. The MS. reads *ecuerius,* i. e. *et verius,* and not, as editors suppose, *et uberius.*

Alias. See the remarks of Balduin. *Dissertat.* c. ix, x. p. 10, 11.

[8] *quis potest pauper esse etc.* Comp. Valer. Maxim. Lib. iv. c. 4: omnia habet qui nihil concupiscit, eo quidem certius quam qui cuncta concupiscit. Comp. Claudian *in Rufin.* I. 200;

Semper inops, quicunque cupit.

Sir Henry Wotton, *The Character of a Happy Life:*

Lord of himself, though not of lands,
And having nothing, yet hath all.

vivunt et in diem pecua pascuntur: et hæc nobis tamen nata sunt: quæ omnia si non concupiscimus, 6 possidemus. Igitur ut qui viam terit, eo felicior quo levior incedit: ita beatior [10]in hoc itinere vivendi qui paupertate se sublevat, non sub divi- 7 tiarum onere suspirat. Et tamen facultates si utiles putaremus, a Deo posceremus; utique indulgere posset aliquantum, cujus est totum: sed nos contemnere malumus opes quam continere: innocentiam magis cupimus, magis patientiam flagitamus: malumus nos bonos esse quam prodigos.

XXXVI.

Et quod [11]corporis humana vitia sentimus 8 et patimur, [12]non est pœna; militia est. Fortitudo enim infirmitatibus roboratur et [13]calamitas sæpius disciplina virtutis est: vires denique et mentis et corporis sine laboris exercitatione tor-

We repine not at crosses and trials, but count them as a part of our appointed discipline, and a sign of the regard and love of

[9] *nemo tam pauper potest esse quam natus est.* Ex Seneca *de Provident.* cap. vi: nemo tam pauper vivit, quam natus est. WOWER. Comp. 1 *Timoth.* c. vi. 7: *οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν ἐς τὸν κοσμὸν· δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα.*

Aves vivunt. Matth. vi. 7; 2 *Cor.* vi. 10.

[10] *in hoc itinere vivendi.* Lactantius has carried out the comparison more fully: *Div. Inst.* vii. 1. § 20, sqq. *Quo levior incedit*, i. e. expeditior, "the less incumbered he is, the more happily he proceeds on his journey."

[11] *corporis humana vitia.* Idem valet ac corporis humani vitia. Lucretius, Lib. ii. p. 209:

Melibœaque fulgens
Purpura, *Thessalico concharum* tincta *cruore,*

hoc est, Thessalicarum concharum cruore. Propertius, Lib. iv. *Eleg.* viii. 23:

armillatos colla Molossa canes.

Statius, *in Epithal. Stell. et Violant.* vs. 191:

Imperii Latiale caput.

DAVIES.

Comp. ch. xxxv. *note* 8.

[12] *non est pœna, militia est.* Seneca *de Provid.* c. iv: verberat nos et lacerat fortuna; patiamur: non est sævitia, certamen est. Et cap. ii: Bonus vir omnia adversa exercitationes putat. CELLARIUS. Comp. *Sirach.* ii. 4, 5; *Hebr.* xii. 5 foll.; 2 *Tim.* ii. 3.

[13] *calamitas virtutis disciplina est.* Seneca, *ibid.* c. iv: *calamitas virtutis occasio est.* Nam *marcet sine adversario virtus*, quod eodem libro cap. ii. dictum est. CELLARIUS.

XXXVII. pescunt: omnes adeo vestri viri fortes quos in exemplum prædicatis, ærumnis suis inclyti floruerunt. Itaque et nobis Deus [14]nec non potest subvenire 9
nec despicit: quum sit et omnium rector et amator suorum: sed in adversis unumquemque explorat et examinat, ingenium singulorum periculis pensitat, usque ad extremam mortem [15]voluntatem hominis sciscitatur, nihil sibi posse perire securus. Itaque [16]ut aurum ignibus, sic nos discriminibus arguimur. [1]Quam pulchrum spectaculum Deo, quum, 1
Christianus cum dolore congreditur! quum adversum minas et supplicia et tormenta componitur! quum strepitum mortis et horrorem carnificis [2]irripiens inculcat! quum libertatem suam adver-

God, whose faithful soldiers we are, ready to die in His service rather than forego His honour and worship.

[14] *nec non potest etc.* i. e. *nec non* (h. e. utique) *potest subvenire nec* (i. e. et non) *despicit* (i. e. recusat). *Proverbs* iii. 11. Translate: "God, as he is not unable to help us, so neither does he esteem us unworthy of his regard."

usque ad extremam mortem, i. e. mortis periculum extremum. *Æn.* ii. 447. LINDNER.

[15] *voluntatem sciscitatur. Psalm.* cxxxix. v. 1—4.

[16] *ut aurum ignibus. Sirach.* ii. 5: Chrysostom. in 2 *Ep. ad Corinth.* c. xii.: *Hom.* 26: ὅπερ γὰρ τῷ χρυσίῳ τὸ πῦρ, τοῦτο ἡ θλίψις, τὸν ῥύπον ἀποσμήχουσα, καθαροὺς ἐργαζομένη, λαμπροὺς κατασκευάζουσα καὶ φαιδροὺς: *S. James*, c. i. 12: 1 *Peter* i. 7: τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολὺ τιμιώτερον χρυσίου δοκιμαζομένου: *Proverbs* xvii. 3: ὥσπερ δοκιμάζεται ἐν καμίνῳ ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσὸς, οὕτως ἐκλεκταὶ καρδίαι παρὰ Κυρίῳ.

Ch. XXXVII. [1] *quam pulcrum spectaculum Deo, etc.* A parody of the noted passage in Seneca, *de Prov.* c. ii.: "ecce spectaculum dignum, ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo Deus: ecce par Deo dignum, vir fortis cum mala fortuna compositus." Seneca adds, "utique si et provocavit." This is Stoic declamation, which overdoes every moral and religious sentiment. It was not enough for the *vir fortis*, the Stoic wise man, to be matched (*compositus*) with adverse fortune: to complete the dignity of his character he must needs challenge her to combat. It is remarkable that Minucius terminates his period just as Seneca does; "cum ipsi, qui adversum se sententiam dicit, insultat." This may resemble the wise man of the Stoics: but how little does it resemble *him*, who left *us* a pattern, that *we* might follow its traces! 1 *Pet.* ii. 21: ὑμῖν ὑπολιμ-

sus reges et principes erigit, soli Deo, cujus est, cedit! quum triumphator et victor ipsi, qui adversum se sententiam dixit, insultat! Vicit enim 2 qui quod contendit obtinuit. Quis non miles sub oculis imperatoris audacius periculum provocet? [3]nemo enim præmium percipit ante experimentum: et imperator tamen quod non habet non dat: non potest [4]propagare vitam, potest honestare militiam. At enim Dei miles nec in dolore deseritur nec morte finitur. Sic Christianus [5]miser videri potest, 3 non potest inveniri. Vos ipsi calamitosos viros fertis ad cœlum, Mucium Scævolam, qui, quum [6]errasset in regem, periisset in hostibus, nisi dexteram perdidisset. Et quot ex nostris [7]non dex- XXXVII.

You yourselves pay reverence to heroic martyrs: but what is their heroism by the side of that of our

πάνων ὑπόγραμμον, ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἴχνεσιν αὐτοῦ. HAILES. Comp. Lactant. *de Mort. Persecut.* c. xvi. § 6; A. Gellius, *N. A.* xii. 5: and on the sense of *componere*, see ch. xxii. 3.

[2] *irripiens inculcat.* Recentiores ediderunt, *irridens insultat*: nos autem MS. lectionem repræsentandam censuimus, licet ea non usquequaque sana videatur. Levi mutatione rescripserim, *arripiens inculcat.* Respicit, ut credo, Minucius ad exempla Martyrum, qui moras urgere carnificis et bestias ad se trahere consueverunt. Vide J. B. Cotelerium in Ignatii *Epist. ad Rom.* c. v. DAVIES. Igitur *arripere* verbum interpretandum est per: lubenter arripere nec differre occasionem. Verbum *inculcare* pro conculcare in usu fuisse docent loci Tertullian. *adv. Nat.* i. 10, et de *Pœnit.* c. vii; cf. etiam Cyprian. *ad Demetrian.* p. 185 ed. Oxon. Adde supra c. xxiv. 1. OEHLER.

[3] *nemo præmium percipit ante experimentum.* 2 *Tim.* ii. 5: ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀθλῇ τις, οὐ στεφανοῦται ἐὰν μὴ νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ.

[4] *propagare vitam*, "to prolong life." So Lactantius, *D. I.* ii. xii. 21; Cicero, *de Fin.* v. ii; Philoctetes propagabat vitam: *Epist. ad Div.* v. 15: propagatio miserrimi temporis: *ad Attic.* v. 17, viii. 3.

Honestare, "to decorate with rewards."

[5] *miser videri potest.* From Seneca, *l. c.* ch. iii.

[6] *errasset in regem.* Comp. above, ch. xxxi. § 3. For the allusion, see Livy, ii. c. 12. foll.; Lactantius, *D. I.* v. xiii. § 13; Valer. Maxim. iii. 3; Martial, *Epigr.* i. 22, which Minucius probably had in view.

[7] *non dexteram solum.* The Romans used to represent in the arena the story of Mucius Scævola; the person who performed the principal

XXXVII. teram solum, sed totum corpus uri, cremari, sine ullis ejulatibus pertulerunt, quum dimitti præsertim haberent in sua potestate? Viros cum Mucio vel 4
cum [8]Aquilio aut [9]Regulo comparo? Pueri et
mulierculæ nostræ cruces et tormenta, feras et
omnes suppliciorum terriculas [10]inspirata patientia
doloris illudunt. Nec intelligitis, o miseri, nemi- 5
nem esse, qui aut sine ratione velit pœnam subire,
aut tormenta sine Deo possit sustinere.

women and children, who inspired with a spirit of endurance, set at nought all the cruel punishments which you devise against them.

Nisi forte vos decipit, quod Deum nescientes 6
divitiis adfluant, honoribus floreant, polleant potestatibus. Miseri [11]in hoc altius tolluntur, ut decidant
altius. Hi enim ut victimæ ad supplicium saginantur:
ut hostiæ ad pœnam [12]coronantur. [13]In hoc adeo 7

You are but deceived with false and illusory appearances, when you argue that in spite of their ignorance of God men enjoy the great-

part being a condemned criminal, usually a Christian, who was forced to place his hand, in imitation of the real hero, on a pan of burning coals. Allusion is made to the practice in the well-known epigram of Martial, x. 25:

In matutina nuper spectatus arena
Mucius imposuit qui sua membra focis;
Si patiens fortisque tibi durusque videtur,
Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.
Nam cum dicatur tunica præsente molesta,
Ure manum: plus est dicere, *Non facio.*

See F. M. *Notes on the Gospels*, Vol. I. p. 62.

[8] *Aquilius.* Probably Manius Aquilius, insulted and tormented by Mithridates, who, as Appian tells the story, ἐλὼν δεδεμένον ἐπὶ ὄνου περιήγετο κηρύσσοντα τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ὅτι Μάνιος εἴη· μέχρις ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ κατεχώννυε χρυσίον, δωροδοκίαν ἅμα Ῥωμαίοις ὀνείδιζων: *de Bello Mithrid.* p. 316. Comp. Cic. *pro leg. Manil.* c. v. § 11; Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* i. 40; Plin. *N. H.* xxxiii. 3.

[9] *Regulo.* Ch. xxvi. § 1.

[10] *inspirata patientia.* Lactantius has copied this expression, *D. I.* v. xiii. 12. *Terriculas*, i. q. terriculamenta, "bugbears." So Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* c. xvi. § 7. For the truth of the statement see Neander, *Ch. Hist.* i. p. 157, sqq.

[11] *in hoc*, i. e. "to this end."

Altius tolluntur etc. Comp. *Psalm* lxxiii. v. 18—20; Claudian *in Rufin.* i. 22, 23:

sane non ad culmina rerum
Injustos crevisse queror: tolluntur in altum,
Ut lapsu graviore ruant.

Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 106; Menander:

ἐπαίρεται γὰρ μεῖζον ἵνα μεῖζον πέσῃ:

also Shakespere, *K. Richard III*, Act iv. Sc. iv.:

One heaved a high, to be hurled down below.

[Heinsius, ad Ped. *Eleg. de morte Dr.* iii. J. GR.]

quidam imperiis ac dominationibus eriguntur, ut ingenium eorum perditæ mentis licentiæ potestatis libere nundinentur. Absque enim notitia Dei quæ potest esse solida felicitas, quum mors sit? somnio 8 similis, antequam tenetur, elabitur. Rex es: [14]at tam times quam timeris, et quamlibet sis multo comi- 9 tatu stipatus, ad periculum tamen solus es. Dives es: sed fortunæ male creditur, et magno viatico 10 breve vitæ iter non instruitur, sed oneratur. Fascibus et purpuris gloriaris: vanus error hominis et [15]inanis cultus dignitatis fulgere purpura, mente sordescere. Nobilitate generosus es: parentes tuos laudas: omnes tamen pari sorte nascimur, sola virtute distinguimur.

XXXVII. est prosperity, rank, and power.

[12] *coronantur.* The custom of crowning the animals, destined for sacrifice, with garlands is well known. See Juvenal, *Sat.* xiii. 63; *Acts* xiv. 13, where ταῦροι and στέμματα are mentioned together: Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 133.

Saginantur. Comp. *S. James* v. 5: ἐθρέψατε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σφαγῆς.

[13] *in hoc adeo imperiis etc.* "To no other end, in fact, are some borne on the shoulders of dominion and authority, but that being profligate in mind, they may without restraint sell themselves to the unbridled exercise of power committed to them." This seems to be the most satisfactory way of taking this passage, if we retain the MS. reading. We might also make *licentiæ* govern *perditæ mentis,* in apposition with *potestatis.* Comp. Juv. *Satir.* iv. 71. Others, rejecting altogether the words *ingenium eorum,* read *perditæ mentes licentiæ,* which they interpret of the Roman soldiers and *potestates* of the Roman empire, and they suppose that Minucius alludes to the murder of Pertinax and to the sale of the empire when Julian was preferred as the highest bidder. Others again, *perditæ mentes,* "their profligate favourites." Neither of these interpretations appears to me to suit the context.

absque notitia Dei, etc. "without the knowledge of God, what real happiness can there be, since such happiness is death? like a dream, it eludes our grasp." Others translate, "since there is such a thing as death."

[14] *at tam times quam timeris.* MS. *et.* Comp. for the thought Seneca, *de Ira* II. c. xi.

Ad periculum, "against danger." Hand, *Tursellin.* I. p. 200.

[15] *inanis cultus dignitatis,* "empty parade of state."

XXXVIII. [16]Nos igitur, qui moribus et pudore censemur, 11
merito malis voluptatibus et pompis vestris et spectaculis abstinemus : quorum et de sacris originem novimus et noxia blandimenta damnamus. Nam 12
[17]in ludis curulibus quis non horreat populi in se rixantis insaniam ? in gladiatoriis [18]homicidii disciplinam ? In scenicis etiam non minor furor, et turpitudo prolixior : nunc enim mimus vel exponit adulteria vel monstrat ; nunc enervis histrio amorem dum fingit infligit. Idem deos vestros [19]induendo 13
stupra, suspiria, odia, dedecorat. Idem simulatis doloribus lacrymas vestras vanis gestibus et nutibus provocat. Sic homicidium in vero flagitatis, in mendacio fletis.

Your empty pageantry has no charms for us : your shews and theatrical exhibitions we renounce, because of their pernicious influence and sickening horrors, and as being based on idol-worship.

[1]Quod vero sacrificiorum reliquias et pocula

[16] *nos qui moribus et pudore censemur etc.* "we who rank by our morals and chastity, with just cause refrain from sinful delights, and (in particular) from your processions and public shews; not only as knowing they originate with your religion, but as condemning their baneful allurements." See ch. xii. § 5, and comp. Lactantius, *D. I.* vi. 20, § 33, sqq.

[17] *in ludis curulibus*, h. e. circensibus. *Populi in se rixantis insaniam :* propter quatuor factiones panno et coloribus distinctas. Vide Plinii ix. *Epist.* 6. Et jam Tertullianus advers. *Marcion.* ii. c. 27, illud immoderatum studium populi furorem vocat. Cellarius. For further testimony, see Juv. *Sat.* iii. 223,

si potes avelli Circensibus.

also *Sat.* vi. 87 ; viii. 57, 118 ; x. 79 ; xi. 53, 193 foll. ; xiv. 262 ; Plin. *Epist.* ix. 6.

[18] *homicidii disciplina*, "a school of murder :" Cyprian, *ad Donat.* i. quoted by Elmenhorst : *Disciplina* est ut quis perimere possit, et gloria est quod perimit.

[19] *induendo*, by investing them, i. e. the gods, with, i. e. ascribing to them.

Ch. XXXVIII. [1] *quod vero sacrificiorum reliquias.* In reference to Cæcilius' remark, ch. xii. § 6.

[2] *adsertio*, "vindication."

[3] *inviolabile Dei munus.* 1 *Timoth.* iv. 4 : ὅτι πᾶν κτίσμα θεοῦ καλὸν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητον μετὰ εὐχαριστίας λαμβανόμενον : *Rom.* xiv. 14. foll.

[4] *abstinemus.* Compare the remarks of S. Paul, 1 *Cor.* x. 18. foll.

[5] *cedere.* Libertatis est *non cedere :* Christiani, *soli Deo cedere*, ch. xxxvii. 1. Lindner.

[6] *quidquid aliud in floribus*, i. q. *quicquid aliud florum*, "whatever other flowers."

delibata contemnimus; non confessio timoris est, XXXVIII.
2 sed veræ libertatis [2]adsertio. Nam etsi omne quod nascitur, ut [3]inviolabile Dei munus, nullo opere corrumpitur: [4]abstinemus tamen, ne quis existimet aut dæmoniis, quibus libatum est, [5]cedere aut nostræ religionis pudere.

Our abstinence from oblations to idols is a vindication of our freedom.

3 Quis autem ille, qui dubitat vernis indulgere nos floribus, quum capiamus et rosam veris et lilium et [6]quidquid aliud in floribus blandi coloris et odoris est? his enim et sparsis utimur [7]mollibus ac
4 solutis et sertis colla complectimur. Sane quod [8]caput non coronamus, ignoscite. [9]Auram boni floris naribus ducere, non occipitio capillisve solemus
5 haurire. [10]Nec mortuos coronamus. Ego vos in hoc magis miror, quemadmodum tribuatis [11]exanimi

Our use of flowers is quite natural: we mock not our dead with a fading garland, but wait for one of undying glory from God, whose present protection of us animates us with just hopes of our future happiness.

[7] *mollibus*, "delicate."

Solutis et sertis, "loose and set in a garland." See ch. xii. § 10.

[8] *caput non coronamus.* The Christians forbade the use of crowns of every sort, especially for the head, because of their connexion with idolatry. See Tertullian, *de Cor.* c. vii: Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* ii. 8: εἴργονται στεφάνων οἱ τῷ λόγῳ παιδαγωγούμενοι· οὐχ ὅτι κωμαστικῆς ἀγερωχίας σύμβολον ὁ στέφανος εἴη· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς εἰδώλοις κατωνόμασται; and again; εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μὲν δι' ἄνθρωπον γέγονε τὰ ἄνθη· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἀνόητοι λαβόντες οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν εὐχάριστον χρῆσιν ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τῶν δαιμονίων ἀχάριστον ὑπηρεσίαν κατεχρήσαντο· ἀφεκτέον αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. Comp. Justin M. *Apol.* ii. p. 57; Cyprian, *de Lapsis*, p. 122.

[9] *auram boni floris*, i. e. odorem. So Lactantius, *D. I.* III. xvii. 11: *exiguam veritatis auram.* To the same purpose Lucian, in the person of *Nigrinus*, (*de Mor. Phil.* p. 24): εἰ γάρ τοι τῇ πνοῇ τῶν ἴων τε καὶ ῥόδων χαίρουσιν, ὑπὸ τῇ ῥινὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐχρῆν στέφεσθαι παρ' αὐτὴν ὡς οἷόν τε τὴν ἀναπνοήν; Tertull. *Apol.* c. xlii: nos coronam naribus novimus: viderint qui per capillum odorantur.

[10] *nec mortuos coronamus.* [ὡς τὸν βίον διηγωνισμένους: Suidas in μελιττοῦτα. J. GR.] We read in Cicero, (*de Legg.* ii. 24), that the use of *longæ coronæ* was forbad in funerals: hence we conclude that others were allowed. Comp. Plin. *N. H.* c. xxi. 3; Tertullian, *de Coron.* c. x: Clem. Alex. *l. c.*: ταύτῃ καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καταστεφανοῦσιν· ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα, ἔργῳ προσμαρτυροῦντες αὐτοῖς τὸ εἶναι νεκροῖς.

[11] *exanimi aut non sentienti fa-

XXXVIII. aut non sentienti facem aut non sentienti coronam; quum et beatus non egeat, et miser non gaudeat floribus. At enim nos exsequias adornamus eadem 6
tranquillitate qua vivimus; nec adnectimus arescentem coronam, sed a Deo æternis floribus vividam [12]sustinemus, [13]qui et modesti, Dei nostri liberalitate securi [14]in spem futuræ felicitatis fide præsentis ejus majestatis animamur. Sic et beati resurgimus et futuri contemplatione [15]jam vivimus.

Thus we rise above those among you, who pique themselves upon their superior wisdom and virtue: but whose lives give the lie to

Proinde [16]Socrates scurra Atticus [17]viderit, nihil 7
se scire confessus, testimonio licet fallacissimi dæmonis gloriosus: [18]Arcesilas quoque et Carneades et Pyrrho et omnis Academicorum multitudo deliberet: [19]Simonides etiam in perpetuum comperen-

cem aut non sentienti coronam, "that you should bestow upon a lifeless man a torch, when he has no feeling, or a chaplet of flowers when he has no more feeling for it than he has for the other." Lindner and others omit the first *non* taking the argument to be: "Exanimis aut non sentit aut sentit: si sentit, cur illi facem subjicitis; si non sentit, cur coronam tribuitis?" I should be better satisfied with the omission of the words, *aut non sentienti facem,* altogether.

[12] *sustinemus,* i.q. expectamus, "wait for." This sense of the verb is found commonly in late Latinity, e.g. Tertullian, *Apol.* xxxv: *de Pœnit.* c. vi: veniam delictorum sustinere: *adv. Judæ.* c. vi. etc. In the Vulgate *μένειν, ὑπομένειν* are constantly translated by it: as *Tobias* v. 9: *ὑπόμεινόν με καὶ ἐρῶ τῷ πατρί. Vulg. sustine me, obsecro, donec et ipsa nuntiem patri meo: Matth.* xxvi. 38; *μείνατε ὧδε· sustinete heic: Acts* xx. 5: *ἔμενον ἡμᾶς ἐν Τρωάδι· sustinuerunt nos Troade.*

[13] MS. *qui et.* Al. *quieti.*

[14] *in spem.* MS. *spem;* which, if it be retained, must be governed of *sustinemus.* The correction is due to Davies.

[15] *jam vivimus,* scilicet *beati.*

[16] *Socrates scurra Atticus;* "The Athenian buffoon." In allusion to Cicero, *N. D.* i. c. 34: Zeno quidem (i.e. Epicureus, non Stoicus; v. Buenemann *ad Lactant.* vi. 20. 15) non eos solum, qui tum erant, Apollodorum Sylleum ceterosque figebat maledictis: sed Socratem ipsum parentem philosophiæ, Latino verbo utens, scurram Atticum fuisse dicebat. See ch. xiii. 1.

[17] *viderit,* "let him look to himself," or, let him well consider of it. The expression is a favourite one with Tertullian. See the observation

dinet: philosophorum supercilia contemnimus, quos [20]corruptores et adulteros novimus et tyrannos et
8 semper [21]adversus sua vitia facundos. Nos non habitu sapientiam sed mente præferimus: [22]non eloquimur magna sed vivimus: gloriamur nos consequutos, quod illi summa intentione quæsiverunt nec
9 invenire potuerunt. Quid ingrati sumus? [23]quid nobis invidemus, si veritas divinitatis nostri temporis ætate maturuit? Fruamur bono nostro et recti sententiam temperemus: cohibeatur superstitio, impietas expietur, vera religio reservetur.

XXXIX.

their professions: who in default of articulate utterances from heaven, sought in vain for that truth, which has been revealed to us in these latter days; and this is a revelation which should move us to infinite gratitude.

Quum Octavius perorasset, aliquamdiu nos ad silentium stupefacti intentos vultus tenebamus: et, quod ad me est, magnitudine admirationis [1]evanui,

EPILOGUE.

of Woodham, *Apolog.* c. xvi. p. 55.

[18] *Arcesilas, etc.* See ch. xiii. 3. *Deliberet*, i. q. dubitet: see note on ch. xxxv. 4, and comp. ch. xvi. 2.

[19] *Simonides*, ch. xiii. 4.

[20] *corruptores*, sunt virginum, sicut *adulteri* maritarum aut puerorum. Lactant. i. 10, 12. Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xlvi. LINDNER. On the hypocrisy of the philosophers see the testimony of Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. v. 9 and v. 20: A. Gellius, *N. A.* xiii. 8; Athenag. *Supplic.* p. 12: Lactant. *Div. Inst.* iii. 15; iv. 24.

[21] *adversus sua vitia facundos*, "eloquent declaimers against vices, of which themselves are guilty." Lindner says, ad ea excusanda; and he quotes a passage of Seneca preserved by Lactantius, iii. 15, § 11, which is apposite enough: "quosdam "nec pudor vitiorum tenet sed pa- "trocinia turpitudini suæ fingunt, ut "etiam honeste peccare videantur." But the translation here given appears the most obvious, and it corresponds with the words of *Tertullian, Apol.* xxxix: leno philosophus et censor. HAILES.

[22] *non eloquimur magna sed vivimus*, "we talk not great things, but we live them:" i. e. our excellence is not in mighty words but in deeds. There is a like expression in Origen *c. Celsum*, ii. p. 101, *ed. Spencer: οὐκ ἐν λέξεσιν ἀλλ' ἐν πράγμασιν μεγαλοφωνία.* HAILES. Comp. Athenag. *Supplic.* c. xxviii: *οὐ γὰρ ἐν μελέτῃ λόγων ἀλλ' ἐπιδείξει καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ ἔργων τὰ ἡμέτερα.* See also Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, Vol. iv. p. 130, *note* 15.

[23] *quid nobis invidemus si etc.* "why do we not congratulate ourselves that true notions about Godhead, (or divine truth) have received their full development in our days?"

Ch. XXXIX. [1] *evanui etc.*, "I was lost in the intensity of my admiration."

CAP. XL. quod ea, quæ facilius est sentire quam dicere, et argumentis et exemplis et lectionum auctoritatibus adornasset: et quod malevolos iisdem illis quibus armantur philosophorum telis retudisset, ostendisset etiam veritatem non tantummodo facilem, sed et favorabilem.

Dum isthæc igitur apud me tacitus revolvo, 1
Cæcilius [1]erupit: Ego Octavio meo [2]plurimum quantum sed et mihi gratulor, nec exspecto [3]sententiam. [4]Vicimus; et ita haud improbe usurpo victoriam. Nam ut ille mei victor est, ita ego 2
triumphator erroris. Itaque quod pertineat ad summam quæstionis, et [5]de providentia fateor et [6]Deo cedo et de sectæ jam nostræ sinceritate consentio. Etiam nunc tamen aliqua consubsidunt 3
non obstrepentia veritati, sed perfectæ institutioni necessaria: de quibus [7]crastino, quod jam sol oc-

Ch. XL. [1] *erupit.* See ch. xvi. § 6, note.

[2] *plurimum quantum.* See ch. xxii. § 1. After *plurimum quantum* the MS. has the following words: *eadem tranquillitate, qua vivimus,* which appear to be an accidental repetition, due to a transcriber, of the words in ch. 38. § 6. Oehler however attempts to make sense out of them by altering them into *ea de tranquillitate qua uti vidimus.*

Sed et mihi, "and not only Cæcilius, but also myself."

[3] *sententiam,* "the verdict of the umpire."

[4] *vicimus, et ita etc.:* "I am victorious; and for this reason it is not impudently that I arrogate victory to myself."

ita haud improbe. [MS. *ita ut,* scriptum neglecta iteratione vocalis *a,* quum deberet esse *ita aut* pro *ita haud improbe.* J. GR.]

[5] *de providentia fateor,* "I acknowledge the truth about Providence."

[6] *Deo cedo,* "I profess submission to God," the characteristic of a Christian, ch. xxxvii. 1. Comp. Seneca, *Benef.* v. 3: "victorem facit vox cedentis et tradere jubentis:" sc. manus.

[7] *crastino,* sc. die: comp. above, ch. xxii. 11. *Ut de toto,* "as on an entire subject." Comp. Balduin. *Dissert.* c. xxv. p. 23.

casui declivis est, ut de toto congruentius, promptius requiremus. CAP. XLI.

At ego, inquam, prolixius omnium nostrum vice gaudeo, quod etiam Octavius mihi vicerit, quum maxima judicandi mihi invidia detracta sit. Nec tamen possum meritum ejus verborum laudibus repensare; testimonium [1]et hominis et unius infirmum est. Habet Dei munus eximium, a quo et inspiratus [2]oravit et obtinuit adjutus.

Post hæc læti hilaresque discessimus, Cæcilius quod crediderit: Octavius [3]gaudere quod vicerit: ego et quod hic crediderit et hic vicerit.

Ch. XLI. [1] *et hominis et unius,* "of one man, and indeed of man at all."

[2] *oravit,* i. q. peroravit, "pleaded." *Obtinuit,* sc. causam, "has prevailed."

[3] *gaudere,* i. e. ad gaudendum.

ΑΡΧΗΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΠΟΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΝ.

THASCII CAECILII CYPRIANI

LIBER

DE IDOLORUM VANITATE.

CYPRIANUS quod idola dii non sint qua brevitate, qua historiarum omnium scientia, quorum verborum et sensuum splendore perstrinxit?—HIERON. *Epist.* LXXXIV. *ad Magnum Orat. Rom.*

Episcopus CYPRIANUS de uno vero Deo, adversus multorum deorum falsorumque cultores disputans, multa profert testimonia de libris eorum, quos præclaros auctores habent, hoc est, ex illa veritate, quam iniquitate detinent.—AUGUSTINUS, *Lib. de Unic. Bapt. contr. Petil. Episc. Constant.* cap. 4.

THASCIUS CÆCILIUS CYPRIANUS

DE IDOLORUM VANITATE.

Quod idola dii non sint; et quod Deus unus sit; et quod per Christum salus credentibus data sit.

CAP. I.

The gods whom the vulgar worship really no gods.

DEOS non esse quos colit vulgus hinc notum est: [a]reges olim fuerunt, qui ob regalem memoriam coli apud suos postmodum etiam in morte cœperunt. Inde illis instituta templa, inde ad defunctorum vultus per imaginem detinendos expressa simulacra: et immolabant hostias et dies festos tanto honore celebrabant. Inde posteris facta sunt sacra quæ primis fuerant adsumpta solatia. Et videamus an sit et hæc apud singulos veritas. Melicertes et Leucothea præcipitantur in maria et fiunt postmodum maris numina: [b]Castores alternis moriuntur ut vivant. Æsculapius ut in Deum surgat fulminatur. Hercules ut hominem exuat Oetæis ignibus concrematur. [c]Apollo Admeto pecus pavit. Laomedonti muros Neptunus instituit, nec mercedem operis infelix structor accepit. [d]Antrum Jovis in Creta visitur, et sepulcrum ejus ostenditur et ab eo [e]Sa-

[a] 20, 5.

carved.

[b] 21, 16.

[c] 22, 5.

[d] 22, 12.

[e] 22, 9.

Ch. I. § 3. *Melicertes et Leucothea.* Hyginus, *fab.* ii: "Ino cum Melicerte filio suo in mare se præcipitavit: quam Liber Leucotheam voluit appellari: nos matrem Matutam dicimus: Melicertem autem Deum Palæmonem, quem nos Portumnum dicimus." Ino autem Liberi sive Bacchi nutrix fingitur. Adde Lactantium Lib. I. cap. xxi. § 23. CELLARIUS.

CAP. I. turnum fugatum esse manifestum est; inde Latium de latebra ejus nomen accepit. Hic litteras im- 4
primere, hic signare nummos in Italia primus instituit; inde ærarium Saturni vocatur. Et rusticitatis
hic cultor fuit; inde falcem ferens pingitur. Hunc 5
fugatum hospitio Janus exceperat; de cujus nomine Janiculum dictum est, et mensis Januarius
[f] 21, 13. institutus est. [f]Ipse bifrons exprimitur, quod in medio constitutus annum incipientem pariter et
[g] 23, 2. recedentem spectare videatur. [g]Mauri vero manifeste reges colunt, nec ullo velamento hoc nomen obtexunt. ⁂

CAP. II. Great variety of practice among various nations. [a] 6, 1. [b] 21, 4.

[a]Inde per gentes et provincias singulas varia deorum religio mutatur, dum non unus ab omnibus Deus colitur, sed propria cuique majorum
suorum cultura servatur. Hoc ita esse [b]Alexander 2
magnus insigni volumine ad matrem suam scribit, metu suæ potestatis proditum sibi de diis hominibus
a sacerdote secretum, quod majorum et regum memoria servata sit; inde colendi et sacrificandi
[c] 23, 4. ritus inoleverit. [c]Si autem aliquando dii nati sunt, 3
cur non hodie quoque nascuntur? Nisi si forte Ju-

§ 4. *rusticitatis*, i. q. vitæ rusticæ.

Ch. II. §1. *cultura*. i.q. cultus.

§ 3. *nisi si forte Jupiter senuit*. Ex Felicis cap. xxiii. § 4 depromptum. Addo huic argumento judicium Plinii Lib. II. cap. vii. de diis paganorum: Matrimonia inter Deos credi tantoque ævo ex his neminem nasci, et alios esse grandævos semper canosque, alios juvenes atque pueros, atri coloris, aligeros, claudos, ovo editos et alternis diebus viventes moventesque puerilium prope deliramentorum est. Sed super omnem impudentiam, adulteria inter ipsos fingi: mox jurgia et odia: atque etiam furtorum esse et scelerum numina. CELLARIUS.

§ 5. *provenit*, "succeeded."

§ 7. *Viduus Deus*. Quis omnia ridicula Deorum nomina enarrabit? Talis et Scansus est, qui subsequitur § 8: Tales ceteri divi diváeque.

CAP. II.

piter senuit, aut partus in Junone defecit. [d] Cur vero deos putas pro Romanis posse, quos videas nihil pro suis adversus eorum arma valuisse? [e] Romanorum enim vernaculos deos novimus. Est [f] Romulus pejerante Proculo deus factus, et [g] Picus, et Tiberinus, et Pilumnus, et Consus, quem deum fraudis, velut consiliorum deum, coli Romulus voluit, postquam in raptum Sabinarum perfidia provenit. Deam quoque [h] Cloacinam Tatius et invenit et coluit, Pavorem Hostilius atque Pallorem. Mox a nescio quo Febris dedicata, et Acca et Flora meretrices. [In tantum vero deorum vocabula apud Romanos finguntur, ut sit apud illos Viduus deus, qui anima corpus viduet, qui quasi feralis et funebris intra muros non habetur, sed foris collocatur, et nihilominus, quia extorris factus, damnatur potius Romana religione quam colitur. Est et Scansus ab ascensibus dictus, et Forculus a foribus, et a liminibus Limentinus, et Cardea a cardinibus, et ab orbitatibus Orbona.] Hi dii Romani. [i] Ceterum Mars Thracius, et Jupiter Creticus, et Juno vel Argiva vel Samia, vel Pœna, et Diana Taurica, et

[d] 25, 7.
[e] 25, 8.
[f] 23, 2.
[g] 25, 8.
[h] 25, 8.
[i] 25, 10.

Multos et pæne innumeros narrarunt alii Arnobius, Lib. iv. p. 131: Lactantius, Lib. i. cap. xx; Augustinus, *Civ. Dei*, Lib. iv. cap. viii, nec vero complecti omnes potuerunt. CELLARIUS.

§ 8. *et Forculus a foribus.* Augustinus, *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 8 *extr.*: "Unum quisque domui suæ ponit ostiarium, et quia homo est, omnino sufficit. Tres deos isti posuerunt, Forculum foribus, Cardeam cardini, Limentinum limini. Ita non potuit Forculus simul fores et cardinem limenque servare." Adde Tertullianum, *de Corona*, cap. xiii. *extr.* CELLARIUS.

ab orbitatibus Orbona. Plinius, Lib. ii. cap. vii. Fanum dicatum est Orbonæ ad ædem Larium, et ara Malæ Fortunæ Exquiliis. Et Arnobius, Lib. iv. pag. 131, clarius: In tutela sunt Orbonæ orbati liberis parentes: in Næniæ, quibus extrema sunt tempora. CELLARIUS.

CAP. II.

deorum mater Idæa, et Ægyptia portenta, non numina: [k] quæ utique si quid potestatis habuissent, sua ac suorum regna servassent. Plane sunt apud Romanos et victi Penates, quos Æneas profugus advexit. Est et Venus calva multo hic turpius calva quam apud Homerum [l] vulnerata.

[k] 25, 7.

[l] 22, 3.

CAP. III. It was not their virtue nor any peculiar favour of the gods they worshipped which enlarged the Roman empire since others had had their share of dominion before them.

Regna autem non merito accidunt, sed sorte variantur. [a] Ceterum imperium ante tenuerunt et Assyrii et Persæ, et Græcos et Ægyptios regnasse cognovimus. Ita vicibus potestatum Romanis quoque variantibus ut et ceteris imperandi tempus obvenit. Ceterum si ad originem redeas erubescas. [b] Populus de sceleratis et nocentibus congregatur et asylo constituto facit numerum impunitas criminum. Nunc ut rex ipse principatum habeat ad crimina, fit Romulus parricida: atque ut [c] matrimonium faciant, rem concordiæ per discordias auspicantur. Rapiunt, ferociunt, fallunt ad copiam civitatis augendam. Nuptiæ sunt illis rupta hospitii fœdera et cum soceris bella crudelia. Est et gradus summus in Romanis honoribus consulatus: sic consulatum cœpisse videmus ut regnum. Filios interficit Brutus, ut crescat de suffragio sceleris commendatio dignitatis. Non ergo de religionibus sanctis, nec de auspiciis aut auguriis Romana regna creverunt; sed

[a] 25, 13.

[b] 25, 2.

[c] 25, 3.

§ 10. *victi Penates.* Virgilius *de Æneâ*, Lib I. 72:

Ilium in Italiam portans victosque Penates.

LINDNER.

est et Venus multo hic turpius Calva. Vide Lactantium, Lib. I. cap. xx. § 27. et Vegetium Lib. IV. cap. ix. Ex Corbeiensi codice MS. emendatio. Adi Rigaltium. CELLAR.

Ch. III. § 4. *Filios interficit Brutus.* L. Junius Brutus, primus consul. Adi Livium, Lib. II. cap. v. Etiam Virgilius attingit Lib. VI. vers. 819:

Consulis imperium hic primus sævusque a
securis

6 acceptum tempus certo fine custodiunt. Ceterum CAP. III.
et [d] Regulus auspicia servavit, et captus est: et [d] 26, 2.
Mancinus religionem tenuit, et sub jugum missus
est. Pullos edaces Paullus habuit, et apud Can-
nas tamen cæsus est. C. Cæsar ne ante brumam
in Africam navigia transmitteret auguriis et auspi-
ciis renitentibus, sprevit, et eo facilius et navigavit
7 et vicit. Horum autem omnium ratio est illa quæ
fallit et decipit, et præstigiis cæcantibus veritatem
8 stultum et prodigum vulgus inducit: [e] spiritus in- [e] 26, 7.
sinceri et vagi, qui posteaquam terrenis vitiis im-
mersi sunt, et a vigore cœlesti terreno contagio
recesserunt, non desinunt perditi perdere et de-
1 pravati errorem pravitatis infundere. Hos et poetæ CAP. IV.
dæmonas norunt; et [a] Socrates instrui se et regi
ad arbitrium dæmonis prædicabat. Et magis inde
est ad perniciosa vel ludicra potentatus; quorum
tamen præcipuus [b] Hostanes et formam veri Dei [b] 26, 10.
negat conspici posse, et angelos veros sedi ejus
2 dicit adsistere. In quo et [c] Plato pari ratione con- [c] 19, 17.
sentit, et unum Deum servans, ceteros angelos vel 26, 11.
dæmonas dicit. Hermes quoque Trismegistus unum
Deum loquitur, eumque incomprehensibilem atque
3 inæstimabilem confitetur. [d] Hi ergo spiritus sub [d] 27, 1.
statuis atque imaginibus consecratis delitescunt;

The *dæmons* known to be such by poets and philosophers.

[a] 26, 8.

Accipiet; natosque pater nova bella moventes
Ad pœnam pulchra pro libertate vocabit
Infelix.

CELLARIUS.

§ 6. *acceptum tempus certo fine custodiunt*, videlicet tempus sibi assignatum, fine fixo ac determinato regna Romana habent. ROUTH.

§ 7. *prodigum*, fort. proditum. ROUTH.

Ch. IV. § 1. *veros*. Fortasse olim in *veros* corrupta est vox *servos*. ROUTH.

CAP. IV. hi adflatu suo vatum pectora inspirant, extorum fibras animant, avium volatus gubernant, sortes regunt, oracula efficiunt, falsa veris semper involvunt, [e] nam et falluntur, et fallunt, vitam turbant, somnos inquietant. Inrepentes etiam spiritus in corporibus occulte mentes terrent, membra distorquent, valetudinem frangunt, morbos lacessunt ut ad cultum sui cogant, ut nidore altarium et rogis pecorum saginati, remissis quæ constrinxerant curasse videantur. [f] Hæc est de illis medela, quum illorum cessat injuria: nec aliud illis studium est quam a Deo homines avocare et ad superstitionem sui ab intellectu veræ religionis avertere; quum sint ipsi pœnales, quærere sibi ad pœnam comites quos ad crimen suum fecerint terrore participes. Hi tamen adjurati per Deum verum a nobis, statim cedunt, et fatentur et de obsessis corporibus exire coguntur. Videas illos nostra voce et operatione majestatis occulte flagris cædi, igne torreri, incremento pœnæ propagantis extendi, ejulare, gemere, deprecari; unde veniant et quando discedant ipsis etiam qui se colunt audientibus confiteri; et vel exsiliunt statim, vel evanescunt gradatim, prout fides patientis adjuvat aut gratia curantis adspirat. Hinc vulgus in odium nostri nominis cogunt, ut nos

[e] 27, 2, 3.

[f] 27, 3.

§ 5. *ad superstitionem sui.* Hoc est, dæmonum; supra scripsit auctor, *ad cultum sui.*

Pœnales, pœna digni. Salvianus de Gubern. Dei, Lib. VI. p. 220: *scelera pœnaliora.* Nec veteri auctoritate verbum caret. Plinius, Lib. XVIII. cap. xi. *Tunditur alica pilo, vinctorum pœnali opera,* id est opera, quæ pœnæ loco est. Sic Prudentius in Laurentio, vers. 193. dixit *pœnalis labor,* de damnatis in metalla. CELLARIUS.

Ch. V. § 2. See the poetical account in Statius, *Thebaid.* i. v. 35; and xii. vv. 431, 432.

odisse incipiant homines antequam nosse; ne cognitos aut imitari possint aut damnare non possint. Unus igitur omnium Dominus est Deus: neque enim illa sublimitas potest habere consortem, quum sola omnem teneat potestatem. Ad divinum imperium
2 etiam de terris mutuemur exemplum. Quando umquam regni societas aut cum fide cœpit aut sine cruore desiit? Sic Thebanorum germanitas rupta, et permanens rogis dissidentibus etiam in morte discordia. Et Romanos geminos unum non capit reg-
3 num, quos unum uteri cepit hospitium. Pompeius et Cæsar affines fuerunt, nec tamen necessitudinis
4 fœdus in æmula potestate tenuerunt. Nec hoc tantum de homine mireris, quum in hoc omnis natura consentiat. [a] Rex unus est apibus, et dux unus in gregibus, et in armentis rector unus. Multo magis mundi unus est rector, qui universa quæcumque sunt verbo jubet, ratione dispensat, virtute con-
5 summat. [b] Hic nec videri potest, visu clarior est, nec comprehendi, tactu purior est, nec æstimari, sensu major est. Et ideo sic eum digne æstimamus,
6 dum inæstimabilem dicimus. [c] Quod vero templum habere possit Deus cujus templum totus est mundus? et quum homo latius maneat, intra unam ædiculam vim tantæ majestatis includam? [d] In nostra

CAP. V.

The *unity* of God.

[a] 18, 7.

[b] 18, 8.

[c] 32, 1.

[d] 32, 2.

§ 6. *quum homo latius maneat.* Minucius, cap. xxxii. § 1. quum homo laxius maneam. Sic ibi cum Fulvio Ursino expressimus, quia Cicero, quem imitari solet Minucius, *habitare laxe,* pro domo sua cap. xliv. dixit. Codices vero omnes Cypriani, si transcripsit Felicem, præ se *latius* ferunt, ut dubitare incipiam, an nec prior ille *latius,* ut Sabæus et Fr. Balduinus legunt, scripserit. CELLARIUS. Routh prefers *laxius* in both writers, referring to a passage in Lactantius in support: *de Mortibus Persecutorum,* cap. xviii.

CAP. V. dedicandus est mente, in nostro consecrandus est
[e] 18, 10. pectore. [e] Nec nomen Deo quæras. Deus nomen 7
est illi. Illic vocabulis opus est ubi propriis adpellationum insignibus multitudo dirimenda est. Deo, qui solus est, DEI vocabulum totum est. Ergo
32, 7. unus est, et [f] ubique ipse diffusus est. Nam et 8
[g] 18, 11. [g] vulgus in multis Deum naturaliter confitetur, quum mens et anima sui Auctoris et Principis admonetur. Dici frequenter audimus, O DEUS, et DEUS VIDET, et DEO COMMENDO, et, DEUS TIBI REDDAT; et QUOD VULT DEUS et SI DEUS DEDERIT. Atque hæc est 9
[h] 17, 3. summa delicti, nolle agnoscere [h] quem ignorare non
CAP. VI. possis. Quod vero Christus sit, et quomodo per
The economy of the Christian religion. ipsum nobis salus venerit, sic est ordo, sic ratio.
[a] 33, 4. [a] Judæis primum erat apud Deum gratia. Sic olim justi erant, sic majores eorum religionibus obediebant. Inde illis et regni sublimitas floruit, et gene- 2
ris magnitudo provenit. Sed illi [negligentes et] indisciplinati et superbi postmodum facti, et fiducia patrum inflati, dum divina præcepta contemnunt, datam sibi gratiam perdiderunt. Quam vero fuerit 3
illis prophana vita, quæ contracta sit violatæ religionis offensa, ipsi quoque testantur, qui etsi voce tacent, exitu confitentur. Dispersi et palabundi vagantur, soli et cœli sui profugi per hospitia aliena
Amos ix. 11. *Hosh.* ii. 21. *Isaiah* xlii. 1. jactantur. Nec non Deus ante prædixerat fore ut 4

§ 7. *Dei vocabulum totum est.* Obscurius dictum. 1 *Cor.* i. 24; 1 *Johan.* i. 14; *Luc.* ii. 32. Fortasse pro *totum* rescribendum *solum* est. ROUTH.

Ch. VI. § 3. *soli et cœli sui profugi.* Cum patrio casu et Plinius connexuit Lib. VII. cap. xxviii. de M. Sergio, Catilinæ proavo: bis ab Hannibale captus: bis vinculorum ejus profugus. CELLARIUS. Comp. Tertullian, *Apologet.* c. xxi. dispersi,

vergente sæculo et mundi fine jam proximo ex omni gente et populo et loco cultores sibi allegeret Deus multo et fidei fortioris, et melioris obsequii qui indulgentiam de divinis muneribus haurirent, quam acceptam Judæi contemptis religionibus perdidissent. Hujus igitur gratiæ disciplinæque arbiter et magister Sermo et Filius Dei mittitur, qui per prophetas omnes retro illuminator et deductor humani generis prædicabatur. Hic est virtus Dei, hic ratio, hic sapientia ejus et gloria. Hic in virginem delabitur, carnem Spiritus Sanctus induitur, Deus cum homine miscetur. Hic Deus noster, hic Christus est, qui mediator duorum hominem induit, quem perducat ad Patrem. Quod homo est esse Christus voluit, ut et homo possit esse quod Christus est. Sciebant et Judæi Christum esse venturum. Nam hic illis semper prophetis admonentibus adnuntiabatur. Sed significato duplici ejus adventu, uno qui exercitio et exemplo hominis fungeretur, altero qui Deum fateretur, non intelligendo primum adventum, qui in passione præcessit occultus, unum tantum credunt qui erit in potestate manifestus. Quod autem hoc Judæorum populus intelligere non potuit, delictorum meritum fuit. Sic erant sapientiæ et intelligentiæ cæcitate multati,

CAP. VI.

1 *Cor.* i. 24. *John* i. 1, 14. *Luke* ii. 32.

Hebr. ii. 17.

Matth. ii. 1. *Mic.* v. 2.

Isaiah vi. 9. *Mark* iv. 12.

palabundi, et cœli et soli sui extorres vagantur per orbem.

§ 6. *Hic est virtus Dei.* Tertullianus *Apologet.* c. xxiii: Dei virtus et Dei Spiritus et sermo et sapientia et ratio et Dei filius. Confer et initium libri ejus *de oratione.* Routh.

Carnem Spiritus Sanctus induitur. Confer *Rom.* i. 3, 4: ubi duæ naturæ Christi sic signantur. Routh.

§ 8. *sciebant et Judæi.* Most of this passage is borrowed from Tertullian, *Apol.* ch. xxi.

CAP. VII. ut qui vita indigni essent haberent vitam ante oculos, nec viderent.

The miracles of Christ, his passion, resurrection, ascension, and hence the preaching of the gospel.

Itaque quum Christus Jesus, secundum a pro- 1
phetis ante prædicta, verbo et vocis imperio dæmonia de hominibus excuteret, paralyticos restringeret, leprosos purgaret, illuminaret cæcos, claudis
Matth. xii. 24. gressum daret, mortuos rursus animaret, cogeret sibi elementa famulari, servire ventos, maria obedire, inferos cedere, Judæi, qui illum crediderant hominem tantum de humilitate carnis et corporis, existimabant magum de licentia potestatis. Hunc magistri eorum atque primores, hoc 2
est, quos et doctrina ille et sapientia revincebat, accensa ira et indignatione provocati, insecuti
Matth. xxvii. 20. sunt et postremo detentum Pontio Pilato, qui tunc ex parte Romana Syriam procurabat, tradiderunt,
Acts iii. 18. crucem ejus et mortem suffragiis violentis ac pertinacibus flagitantes. Hoc eos facturos et ipse 3
prædixerat, et prophetarum omnium testimonium
Luke xxiii. 5. *Luke* xi. 22. *Isaiah* liii. 8. *Daniel* ix. 26. *Zach.* iii. 7. *Matth.* xxvii. 50; xxviii. 17. sic ante præcesserat, oportere illum pati, non ut sentiret mortem, sed ut vinceret: et quum passus

Ch. VII. § 1. *existimabant magum de licentia potestatis.* Positum est *licentia potestatis* pro eo quod est, amplitudo ejus. Tertullianus, cap. 20, *Apologetici;* quem igitur solummodo hominem præsumpserant de humilitate, sequebatur ut magum existimarent de potestate. Tertullianum imitatus est Cyprianus, hunc vicissim Arnobius, Lib. I. c. 46. ROUTH.

§ 2. *Syriam procurabat.* Bene, *procurabat,* quia Tacitus Pontium Pilatum *procuratorem* dixit Lib. XV. cap. XLIV: minus autem vere Syriam, quæ sub legato consulari erat, nominavit; Pilatus enim Palæstinæ tantum, nec illi omni, sed Archelai ethnarchiæ in provinciam redactæ, sive Judææ et Samariæ, præfectus fuit. Josephus, Lib. II. *de Bello* cap. XIV. ineunte: πεμφθεὶς δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Πιλάτος: missus autem a Tiberio Pilatus in Judæam *procurator.* CELLARIUS. Errat noster cum

esset, ad superos denuo regredi, ut vim divinæ majestatis ostenderet. Fidem itaque rerum cursus implevit. Nam et crucifixus prævento carnificis officio spiritum sponte dimisit, et die tertio rursus a mortuis sponte surrexit. Apparuit discipulis suis qualis et fuerat, agnoscendum se videntibus præbuit simul junctis; et substantiæ corporalis firmitate conspicuus, ad dies quadraginta remoratus est, ut de eo ad præcepta vitalia instrui possent, et discerent quæ docerent. Tunc in cœlum circumfusa nube sublatus est; ut hominem quem dilexit, quem induit, quem a morte protexit, ad Patrem victor imponeret, jam venturus e cœlo ad pœnam diaboli et ad censuram generis humani ultoris vigore et judicis potestate; per orbem vero discipuli, magistro et Deo monente, diffusi præcepta in salutem darent, ab errore tenebrarum ad viam lucis adducerent, cœcos et ignaros ad agnitionem veritatis ocularent. Ac ne esset probatio minus solida, et de Christo delicata confessio, per tormenta, per cruces, per multa pœnarum genera

CAP. VII.

4

5

6

7

Acts i. 9.

Mark xvi. 15.

Tertulliano, ecclesiæ Carthaginensis Presbytero, quem sequitur, in *Apol.* cap. xxi. sic dicentem: Ad doctrinam ejus primores Judæorum ita exasperabantur...ut postremo oblatum Pontio Pilato Syriam tunc ex parte Romana procuranti violentia suffragiorum in crucem Jesum dedi sibi extorserint. LINDNER.

§ 4. *Nam et crucifixus etc.* From Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xxi.

§ 5. *simul junctis: συνηθροισμένοις τοῖς ἕνδεκα· Luc.* xxiv. 33.

§ 6. *ultoris vigore.* Fortasse legendum est, *in* ultoris. ROUTH.

et Deo. Fortasse delendum *et.* ID.

ocularent: visum darent. Tertulliani verbum, quo magistro sæpe Cyprianus usus est. Libro de *Pœnitentia* cap. xii: Hirundo si excæcaverit pullos, novit illos *oculare* rursus de sua chelidonia. Et metaphorice libro *de Pudicitia* cap. viii. in vestibus purpura *oculandis.* CELLARIUS.

CAP. VII. tentantur. Dolor, qui veritatis testis est, admove- 8
tur, ut Christus Dei filius, qui hominibus ad vitam
datus creditur, non tantum præconio vocis, sed et
passionis testimonio prædicaretur. Hunc igitur 9
comitamur, hunc sequimur, hunc habemus itineris
ducem, lucis principem, salutis auctorem, cœlum
pariter et Patrem quærentibus et credentibus polli-
centem. QUOD EST CHRISTUS ERIMUS CHRISTIANI, SI 10
CHRISTUM FUERIMUS SEQUUTI.

§ 10. *Quod est Christus.* Jam gloriæ ejus participes. FELL. mystici corporis membra, deinceps

C. CYPRIANI LIBER EXPLICIT.

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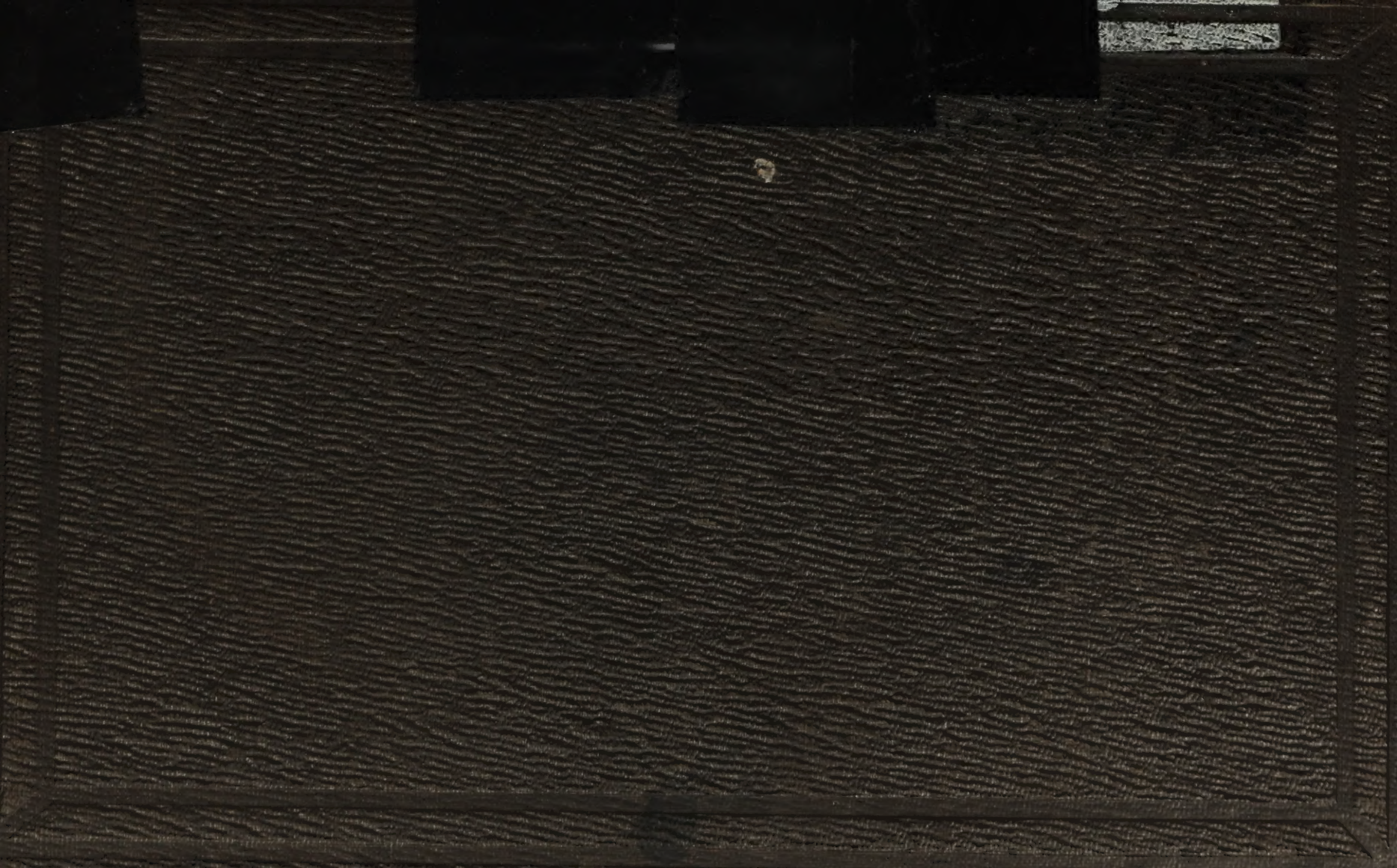
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